A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF EDUCATIONAL DISADVANTAGE IN INDIA WITHIN THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY: A HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY ANALYSIS

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Ph.D. Degree in the Faculty of Education.

University of London, Institute of Education.

Antoinette Iris Grace Lobo

May 1994

To my husband Gerard and children Rupert, Maeve and Vanessa: That they may understand the cultural and educational roots of the Anglo-Indian community.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank all those, particularly in India, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Canada who have directly or indirectly contributed to this thesis.

I want to express my thanks to my husband Gerard, who encouraged and supported me in making the thesis a reality. His insights into the Anglo-Indian community were invaluable.

I am greatly indebted to my Supervisor, Crispin Jones, for his encouragement and the deep interest he took in helping me to bring this thesis to fruition. I am grateful to Dr. Robert Cowen for his advice and support.

I am also indebted to Withbert Payne and Blair Williams of the United States of America, for their financial support for the field study. I must express my appreciation and thanks to Yvonne Rozario, a school friend of mine in India, who was my coordinator for the field study. I would also like to express my appreciation to Warren O'Rourke of Canada for his encouragement and enthusiasm for the research.

I would like to acknowledge the assistance given to me in India, by the late Frank Anthony, Alan Baker, Sheila Charles, Geoffrey Francis, Winston Gardner, Sheila Irani, the late "ML" Menzies, Stephen Padua, Margaret Pathak, Bill Philips and Sydney Rebeiro. They clearly understood the objective of this study and introduced me to the educational institutions and the respondents.

I hope that the respondents know how grateful I am for their generous contributions of hospitality and information.

ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the fact of educational disadvantage within the Anglo-Indian community in India today.

The argument of the thesis is that this disadvantage is rooted in the size, language and religion of the Anglo-Indian community. The argument is developed from an examination of the history of Anglo-Indian education since its inception in the sixteenth century and through an empirical investigation of Anglo-Indian schools in 1990.

The Introduction is a personal account of the genesis of the research.

Chapter One states the main argument of the thesis. It describes briefly the contemporary condition of the Anglo-Indian community in India. It summarizes the organization of the thesis.

Chapter Two traces the origin of the Anglo-Indian schools in the sixteenth century and establishes the link between these schools and the European colonialists from 1500-1786.

Chapter Three describes the collective vision of the European traders, soldiers, administrators, politicians and missionaries. Their educational policies from 1786-1900 had very significant implications for the future of Anglo-Indian education.

Chapter Four examines those historical events from 1900-1990 which had a direct influence on Anglo-Indian educational policies.

Chapter Five outlines the various plans and strategies used for writing the history of Anglo-Indian education in India.

It also describes the selection process of the survey methodology for the field research.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight discuss the three issues of size, language and religion respectively. These issues formed the basis of the researcher's survey of six hundred and twenty eight respondents in eight Indian States in 1990.

Chapter Nine describes the theory-practice model created for Anglo-Indian schools to eliminate educational disadvantage.

Finally, in the Conclusion, the major outcomes of this study, based on the evidence described in the previous chapters, are brought together. Recommendations are made to the Anglo-Indians in India and in those countries where they have migrated.

CONTENTS PAGE

CONTENTS PAGE

CONTENTS PAGE

Chapter 7 - The Field Study: The Language Issue in Anglo-Indian Schools

Chapter 8 - Anglo-Indian Schools and Religious Education

CONTENTS PAGE

Chapter 9 - Educational Theory-Practice in the Socio-Practical Field of Anglo-Indian Schools

Chapter 10 - Conclusion

CONTENTS PAGE

APPENDICES

CONTENTS PAGE

FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

The wish to undertake this research grew from two studies conducted by the researcher in 1986 and 1988. (1) In these studies, the researcher had conducted interviews with Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians (1986) and Anglo-Indians only (1988), resident in Britain. This was part of empirical research undertaken for the completion of two dissertations. Their comments about their relatives and friends who were Indian citizens, were peripheral to the two dissertations. These discussions usually took place at the end of an interview, when general comments were made about Anglo-Indians still living in India.

Such comments were not unexpected as most Anglo-Indians do return at least once to India after emigration to Britain. Nostalgia and seeking out one's roots are the usual reasons for such trips. Anglo-Indian visitors to India used their childhood experiences of their social life in railway "colonies", and in Anglo-Indian schools to draw their comparisons with life in India today.

It was their perceptions of the decline of the Anglo-Indian community that aroused the researcher's curiosity. How has a community with such excellent schools failed in present day India adequately to prepare its Anglo-Indian students for a full and productive life in India? This was the inspiration of this research.

The researcher is an Anglo-Indian who was educated in the "European Section" of an Anglo-Indian Roman Catholic Convent School in a suburb of Bombay, India. This English language medium school was situated in Bandra on the island of Salsette. It was owned by the Daughters of the Cross, a Roman Catholic Religious Order founded in Belgium.

Students came to this Anglo-Indian school from Bombay island and also from the surrounding suburbs on Salsette island. The students were upper and middle class Anglo-Indians, a few Europeans, Indian Christians drawn from the East Indian, Goan and Mangalorean communities, and non-Christians who were Hindus, Muslims, Jews and Parsees.

The school was exclusive, elitist and enjoyed an excellent academic record. Academic and class snobbery flourished and was not discouraged. The students in the "European Section" thought of themselves as a cut above the girls of the "Indian" section of the school. The "European Section" of this Anglo-Indian school prepared students for the University of Cambridge Overseas Examination. The "Indian Section" prepared students for the University of Poona's Secondary School Certificate.

European culture was extolled - western classical music, literature, dance and drama were all encouraged. The "house" names were Dickens, Kipling, Scott, Shakespeare and Tennyson. Examiners from the Trinity College of Music, London visited the school annually to conduct examinations in practical music and elocution. (This inculcation and pursuit of European values in music led to the researcher ultimately being elected a Fellow of the Trinity College of Music.)

The accent on European culture was so intense that French was always taught as a second language to Anglo-Indians rather than an Indian language. The researcher became an "Anglo-Indian Language Casualty" because she could not, towards the end of her schooling, speak, let alone read or write, an Indian language like other Indian students. (2) This had a catastrophic effect on the researcher.

According to the researcher's Hindi tutor, she spoke Hindi with a "fractured accent". She possessed a poor vocabulary

and although she was encouraged to, and participated in, Hindi plays, with Hindi mother-tongue speakers, she was a failure. She would miss her cue, or recite the lines in the wrong order: a serious play would result in an uproar!!

Not unexpectedly, the Cambridge Hindi oral and written examinations in 1955 were a nightmare. The researcher's Indian friends passed the examinations with ease, because they were writing and speaking in their mother-tongue. Her Indian Christian friends passed the French oral and written examinations, because they did not find it necessary to drop French and do Hindi. They would be in India for the rest of their lives. They were Indian, and did not have to take any desperate measures to "integrate" by learning Hindi. They could learn the Indian Languages at their leisure.

In 1990, during the field research, an Anglo-Indian teacher commented about Anglo-Indian students in his school.

> Out of every twenty Anglo-Indians only one manages to complete twelve years of schooling. The reason lies in the language problem. Anglo-Indians are still failing to learn an Indian language. We did not know an Indian language before 1947, and we still do not know how to read, write and speak an Indian language. This is why Anglo-Indians are forced to repeat a year in the same class if they fail the Indian language examination. (3)

As a consequence, the language casualty rate has reached epidemic proportions for Anglo-Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools. The language policy and teaching methods have remained unchanged since 1954.

By 1990, passing Indian language examinations was linked to entry in further education at 16+ and higher education at

18+. An Indian language was linked to jobs in the government and private sectors. Anglo-Indians were failing to pass Indian language examinations. Anglo-Indians were dropping out of school because they were the "repeaters" in the class. They failed at 16+ or at 18+ and very few had entered an Indian University.

Forty years have passed since the researcher's traumatic experience within the "language culture" of Anglo-Indian schools. The Anglo-Indian system has not been made accountable for this academic failure among Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian English medium schools did not have a structured policy to teach Anglo-Indians an Indian language. The language policy was structured to teach English as a second language to Indian students. Anglo-Indians were avoiding their own schools, although, "freeships" continued to be offered to Anglo-Indian students. (4)

After Indian independence in 1947, Hindi became an educational issue. The effect of the new language policy and its consequential disadvantages, led to the perception among the Anglo-Indians that they were being discriminated against. This led to intense insecurity and a desire to emigrate from India to countries which had "British" values, such as Great Britain, Canada and Australia. (5)

In the researcher's own case, her father suffered from prejudice in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway (later known as Central Railway). Her father's experience was duplicated a thousand times. Anglo-Indians suffered racial prejudice in the Indian Railways, the Customs and Excise, the Post and Telegraphs and the Police departments. The reasons for this, lay in the history of the Anglo-Indian community. (6)

Unlike many others, the researcher's father decided to "stay on". He was eventually promoted to administer a large railway division as Divisional Superintendent. He was the exception to the normal rule. The researcher's father had to learn Hindi. Instant integration for the Anglo-Indian meant a change in the language of communication from English to Hindi. This change affected the researcher's optional choice for a second language in the Anglo-Indian school. The researcher also had to change from French to Hindi as a second language. The effects of this change has been described above.

The emigration of the middle class and the skilled workers in the community gradually reduced the Anglo-Indian community to a "pear-shaped community" with a narrow section of well-educated professionals and politicians at the top and a large, sagging base of ill-educated, semi-skilled and unskilled Anglo-Indians at the bottom. The Anglo-Indian middle-class was slowly disappearing from India. As one British Anglo-Indian commented,

> Everyone, who could, left India for Britain. (7)

In particular, those who had revisited India commented on both the educational and general social disadvantage of the Anglo-Indian community in India. The comments which follow are typical of those made by British Anglo-Indians who had visited all the major cities and towns in North and South India after 1980. Their stories highlighted the inadequate educational qualifications, unemployment and poverty in the community. Nothing seemed to have changed between 1970, when the researcher last lived in India, and 1990. According to British Anglo-Indians who visit India, the unemployment and poverty are linked to the educational system.

Their comments were collected during the two researches conducted by the researcher in 1986 and 1988 in Britain These comments were:

> Why can't the schools do something about the poverty? I don't know what, but, I doubt they even think about it? Jobs are linked with educational qualifications, and the schools must be held accountable to some extent for the poverty and unemployment in the community.

and,

> There are too many Anglo-Indians who drop out of school? Why does this happen? Anglo-Indians do not even go to their Anglo-Indian schools. They are too poor to attend their own schools.

These remarks were repeated often by British Anglo-Indians. The stories vividly described the stark poverty of the community.

> My brother's children came to greet me at the railway station, wearing no shoes.

and,

> Some of my friends could not afford a pair of socks for the Christmas party at the Railway Institute and Jhansi can become cold in winter.

This disconcerted the visitors and many of them privately acknowledged that they had made the right decision to leave India.

> The boys in the community are worse off than the girls. They still think someone will turn up and offer them a job, like old British days, when we got jobs easily on the railways. But, you need good qualifications to secure employment in India today. The boys just waste their time and many of them are goondas

[thugs].

These comments cite the source of the inadequate qualifications as the Anglo-Indian school. The comments linked the poor educational qualifications of the Anglo-Indians to the number of unemployed Anglo-Indians. There were large numbers who were either unemployed or in low skilled jobs living in India's sprawling urban slums. Some of the British Anglo-Indians also visited the smaller railway townships and rural areas, and found widespread poverty among the community in those areas as well. Poverty and disadvantage were endemic in the community in the 1980s.

This picture was starkly confirmed in a two-part Channel 4 television programme about the Anglo-Indian community shown in 1986. (8) The programme portrayed the apathy and hopelessness felt by the community. Although the major criticism has been that the documentary focused only on poverty, and not the achievements and wealth of a few individuals, it was a fair summary of the socio-economic status of the community.

British Anglo-Indians, whom the researcher interviewed at the time in relation to the 1988 research, were appalled by the images of poverty in the community. After the first initial shock, many of them agreed with the findings of the documentary. Their comments about the programme fell into three categories. (9)

1. Anglo-Indians were concerned at the portrayal of so much suffering in India.

> I felt very close to tears when I saw the programme. There didn't seem to be anything nice to say about us.

2. They were also relieved that they

> ... managed to "get away" in time from India, otherwise the programme could have been describing me or my family.

3. Anglo-Indians were disheartened

> ... that once again in the history of India, we were being depicted as failures.

There were also comments which compared the Anglo-Indians and Indians studying in the same school.

> I know that Indians who attend the same school as Anglo-Indians all do very well in the examinations. The Indian students complete Class Twelve and enter University. The Anglo-Indians drop out of school. Why can't Anglo-Indians benefit from the same educational system? Something has gone radically wrong with the system.

These comments, and the questions raised by both the researcher's own educational experience and later research, demanded answers. The answers could only be found by conducting research.

The researcher received positive support and encouragement from the Department of International and Comparative Education at the University of London, Institute of Education to undertake such a study.

A decision was taken by the researcher to discover the relationship between education (or the lack of it) within the Anglo-Indian community and the fact that it was poverty-stricken and unemployed in India. In other words, why is the Anglo-Indian community inadequately qualified in India, when the Constitution of India protects the community's rights to own and administer its own schools?

The researcher had five advantages.

(1) As an Anglo-Indian, the researcher had an insider's knowledge of her community in India.
(2) She had been educated in an Anglo-Indian school.
(3) She had lived in cities and railway townships where Anglo-Indian communities lived.
(4) She had experienced the Anglo-Indian's feeling of marginality, isolation and confusion in trying to be Indian as well as retaining a British culture. (10)
(5) She understood the "colour prejudice" which has haunted the Anglo-Indian family. The issue of colour had created divisions within families. She was aware of the rude jokes in maternity wards. The "black" humour does not escape an Anglo-Indian. Reaction to racism within and outside the community is also enshrined in Anglo-Indian literature. (11)

The researcher set out to discover the reasons for disadvantage, poverty, discrimination and unemployment when the community has the power of education. This power is supposed to overthrow artificial inequalities of blood, birth, race, colour and sex, and create a "new frontier" for opportunity. (12)

If research had to be undertaken, then the core of the field research had to take place in Anglo-Indian schools and homes. These places could hold the answer, or at least part of the answer to the "backwardness" label attached to the community. (13)

The research had to be empirical. Discovering facts and being confronted with the stories and faces of the people in the researcher's community was a decision which was taken before the research began.

Sitting in a library and sifting through what "he said" or

"she said", or who "achieved this in the past in the stories of Anglo-Indian military valour", or "which person made stirring speeches" could not, by itself, yield all the information that was needed. The historical study might yield a number of established facts. These established facts had to be analysed. The researcher also wanted new facts, new evidence and information about the present.

The traditional history of the Anglo-Indian community is filled with stories of military bravery and leadership on the fields of battle. This made excellent reading about the community's commitment not only to the British Raj but to the Indian Government. But, it does nothing for a poor Anglo-Indian who has a leaky roof, no oil for a light, wears second-hand clothes, walks barefoot and has no hope for the future. (14)

The researcher wanted to talk to Anglo-Indian children and their Indian friends in classrooms in Anglo-Indian schools. She wanted to meet Anglo-Indian teachers, Principals of Anglo-Indian schools, Anglo-Indian social workers and politicians. She wanted to live with Anglo-Indians in their homes in different Indian cities. It was here where the researcher had to pause and think about the financial undertaking of this research. In order to finance the research, it had to be conducted as a part-time study.

British Anglo-Indians who had voiced their opinion about the community in India made statements which strengthened the researcher's resolve to visit India. It was the hope that such an exercise, coupled with careful data collecting techniques, would enable the researcher to gain some insight into disadvantage. The results from the field study, alongside those from the historical study of the community form the main part of this thesis.

In the next chapter, a more detailed account is given of these and other issues and the manner in which they were tackled. In addition, some essential background information about the community as an initial starting point for the research is given.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) See, Lobo, A.I.G. (1986) Christian Immigrants from India and Pakistan to Britain after 1947: Their Education and Aspirations Unpublished Dissertation (B.Ed. Hons.) Bulmershe College of Higher Education, University of Reading; see also, Lobo, A.I.G. (1988) Anglo-Indians in Britain: An Educational Perspective of an Urban Ethnic-Minority Community Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts Degree in Urban Education, The University of London, Institute of Education.

(2) In 1954, the Bombay Schools' Case assured the Anglo-Indians that their educational system would remain intact and continue to be part of the protected, autonomous sector of Indian education. The Supreme Court's judgment stated that the community was a religious as well as a linguistic minority, and that the majority could not force its will upon the minority, because this results in denying the minority the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. See, DeSouza, A.A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 New Delhi: Oxford University Press. (p. 232); see also, Kumar, A. (1985) Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution New Delhi; Deep & Deep Publications (p.130 and p.240).

(3) This comment was made by a teacher in Barnes School, Devlali, Maharashtra, in July 1990 during the field work.

(4) The scholarships offered by the European and Anglo-Indian Association to poor Europeans and Anglo-Indians were known as "freeships". This was a derogatory term applied to Anglo-Indians who had to apply for assistance to pay for their schooling in Anglo-Indian schools. "Freeship" scholars rarely "amounted to anything, because when it is free you don't care too much. They just waste the Association's money and the teacher's time." This comment was made by an Anglo-Indian in 1992, who was concerned about the apathy among Anglo-Indians on "freeships" in a residential school in Tamil Nadu.

The researcher's father and his two sisters were "freeship" scholars in an Anglo-Indian residential school in Bombay between 1903-1920. The researcher's father described his experience as a "freeship" scholar.

> I did not succumb to the school's expectations, and although I was offered a place in the University of Bombay after completing my Senior Cambridge examinations, my mother asked me to go to work as an apprentice in the G.I.P.Rly. (Great Indian Peninsular).

The drop out rate of Anglo-Indian "freeship" students was very high. See, DeSouza, A. A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 New Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.304); see also, Maher, R.J.(1962) These are the Anglo-Indians Calcutta: Swallow Press (p.15). Maher's book can be obtained on an inter-University library loan from the University of Illinois, U.S.A.

(5) See, Maher, R.M. (1962) op. cit., (p.68). Maher's description of the exodus of Anglo-Indians is described in the Chapter "Sinking Ship?" (p.68) Maher describes the "departure of the wealthier and more influential members of the community" as a "draining of its very life-blood." See, Malelu, S.J. (1964) The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality The Ohio State University, Ph.D. Sociology, Race Question University Microfilms, Inc. Ann Arbor, Michigan. In Malelu's research, he identified the Anglo-Indians as being marginal to India's culture. See also, Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (p.44)

(6) See, Allen, C. (1977) Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947 London: Andre Deutsch (pp.90-1) Allen describes the occupations "chiefly on the railways and in lower provincial appointments" which were offered to all Anglo-Indians, "unless they were educated overseas." (p.15) Anglo-Indians who were educated in Anglo-Indian schools were barred from "all the senior and covenanted posts". (p.15) See also, O'Malley, L.S.S. (1941) Modern India and the West London: Oxford University Press (pp.238-39); see also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) Hostages to India or The Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race Calcutta: Star Printing Works (A facsimile reprint was published privately in 1987, through the agency of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) Putney, London.) Stark, H.A. (1936) described the Anglo-Indians as

> ... telegraph operators, artisans and electricians. They supplied the railways with station staffs, engine drivers, permanent way inspectors, guards, auditos - in fact every higher grade of railway servant. (p.135)

(7) This comment was made after an interview in London in 1987. See, Lobo, A.I.G. (1988) op. cit.,

(8) Channel 4 (1986) The Anglo-Indians Central Television Producer Zia Mohyeddin. Narrated by Tim Piggot-Smith. The

Channel 4 television programme (1986) was shown in two one hour episodes. The British Film Institute has a copy of the programme. Lingarajapuram a large slum in Bangalore was featured in the television programme. There were many Anglo-Indian families who live in this slum.

(9) The subsequent quotations are from Lobo, A. (1988) op. cit., During the field study conducted in India in 1990, an effort was made to contact the Anglo-Indian social worker in Lingarajapuram slum in Bangalore who had appeared in the Channel 4 programme. She and her husband agreed to be interviewed. They introduced the researcher to an Anglo-Indian family in Lingarajapuram, who participated in the survey. Details of this study of Anglo-Indians living in Lingarajapuram can be found in Appendix 5.

(10) See, Naidis, M. (1963) 'British Attitudes Toward the Anglo-Indians' THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY Part 3 pp.407-22 Naidis described the Anglo-Indians as

> ... caught between the colonial society of the paramount power and native society. The Anglo-Indians were socially accepted by neither. (p.407)

(11) See, Wilson, M.B. (1929) The Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Race of India There is no publisher or place of publication, except a preface written by Sir Henry Gidney in 1928 (Calcutta). This is the first time that this book is attributed to the correct person. Sir Henry Gidney mentions Mrs. M.B. Wilson as the writer of the book in his preface. The book had appeared under the name of J.B.Smart, who was Mrs. Wilson's brother. Mrs. Wilson stressed the "whiteness" of the Anglo-Indian community. She stated that the Anglo-Indians were

> ... white by birth, and domicile, we are Indian, yet by manners, custom, speech, education and above all our Christian religion we form a separate and distinctive white race as compared with the indigenous Indian. (p.5)

This argument put forward by an Anglo-Indian writer, brings into focus the "white" issue in the community. The Anglo-Indian

> ... race is ... beyond question or cavil ... white by birth and domicile ... we form a separate and distinctive white race as compared with the indigenous Indian. (p.5)

It is important to note that M.B. Wilson only accepted Domiciled Europeans as Anglo-Indians, hence on page two she mentions the barristers, doctors, engineers and magistrates in the Domiciled European Community who were not Anglo-Indians.

(12) See, Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. described the "new frontier" as education, in which all children are offered equal opportunities to enable them to

> ... make it. Those who have failed to measure up have only themselves to blame. (pp.3-4)

(13) The Havanur Report (1975) Government of Karnataka Backward Classes Commission Report in four volumes. Volume I Part II; see also, Justice K. Subba Rao, the Former Chief Justice of India statement in the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission Report (1975) that

> ... economic backwardness is the basis of all backwardness. (p.67)

See also, Government Order No.8940-90 Edn. 96-16-1 dated May 1917, and Government letter No.3949-Edn.42-17, dated 13th October 1917, where the term backward classes was recognised to include all the communities in the State other than the Brahmin. The Europeans and Anglo-Indians

> ... who have English for their mother-tongue will of course be excluded by that fact. (p.1)

Therefore, the English speaking Anglo-Indian community did not accept the "backward" label, although the evidence of being educationally backward had been linked to their unemployment and poverty; see also, REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO CONSIDER STEPS NECESSARY FOR THE ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION OF COMMUNITIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE (there was no date on this report). This Report was sent to the researcher by the late 'ML' Menzies, Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Activists in Bangalore. The original copy is in the State Central Library, Bangalore; see also, Wadhwa, K.K. (1975) Minority Safeguards in India: Constitutional Provisions and their Implementation Bangalore: Thomson Press (India) Limited (pp.16-21)

Although the word "backwardness" occurred very often in Indian education, there was no definition of the word "backward" in the Constitution of India. The qualities were described and some of the Backward Classes were listed; see also, Article 15(4) in the Constitution of India which described socially and educationally backward classes of Indian citizens; see also, Article 46 which mentioned the weaker sections of the people and included in that expression of weaker sections in Indian society the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 46 directs the State to protect them from exploitation. In Part XVI the Anglo-Indians were grouped with the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes who were backward in different fields

-- political, social, economic and cultural. (pp.55-7)

(14) For a discussion on Anglo-Indian poverty see, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW (NEW SERIES); see also, Blunt, E. (1937) The I.C.S.: The Indian Civil Service London: Faber and Faber Chapters 1 and 2; see also, CALCUTTA REVIEW (1867) 'The Bengal; Military Orphan Society' (p.57); see also, Macrae, J. (1913) 'The Problem for Charity Among the Anglo-Indian Community' CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol.I January pp.84-94 and July pp.351-392; see also, O'Malley, L.S.S. (1965) The Indian Civil Service 1801-1830 London: Frank Cass & Co. (pp.228-30); see also, Thurston, E. (1898) 'Eurasians of Madras City and Malabar' BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM Vol.II pp.94-6; see also, Valentia, G. (1809) Voyages and Travels in Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806 3 Volumes. London: William Miller (pp.241-42). See also, Baptist Mission Report or The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian community 1957-1958 Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press; see also the work of the American sociologist, Brennan, N.L. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition Ph.D. Thesis syracuse University. Ann Arbor, Mi.48105: University Microfilms International. (p.9) Brennan, was an American sociologist, who lived among Anglo-Indians in the late seventies, in Madras. Brennan described the

> ... significant number of the children of the poorest families who are not in Anglo-Indian schools or do not reach the upper levels, (p.9)

and the stereotyping of "illegitimate and immoral" (p.160) Anglo-Indians. Brennan was also approached by "Anglo-Indian beggars" (p.121) in Madras. See also, Wright, R.D. (1970) Marginal Man In Transition: A Study of the Anglo-Indian Community of India University of Missouri, Columbia, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University Microfilms A XEROX Co. Ann Arbor, Michigan. (p.63). See also, Francis, G.F. (1986) 'Speech by MLA on the Floor of the Assembly on 18-4-1986 THE DAWN OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH INDIA Vol. 1 No. 1. See also, Bose, M. (1979) 'One corner of an Indian slum that is forever England' NEW SOCIETY 4 January pp.7-9. See also, Masani, Z. (1986) 'The Raj through Indian eyes' THE LISTENER 1 May pp. 10-11; see also, Bobb, D., and Ahmed, F. (1991) 'McCluskieganj: The Dying of a Dream' INDIA TODAY 31 October pp.42-9. This article was accompanied by photographs of the poverty in the community. See also, Appendix 4 for a report on the field study's investigation of Anglo-Indian poverty in two slums in Bangalore and Calcutta.

CHAPTER 1

OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to state simply the main argument of the thesis, to describe briefly the contemporary condition of the Anglo-Indian community and to summarize the organization of the thesis.

The argument of the thesis is that the general disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community is rooted in their own Anglo-Indian schools. On the one hand the Constitution of India guarantees all Anglo-Indians access to an education in their own elitist schools. On the other hand, however, Anglo-Indians suffer a high level of educational disadvantage in their own schools.

The structure of the chapter is as follows:

(i) The argument of the thesis
(ii) The Anglo-Indian community now and their schools
(iii) The structure of the thesis.

2. The Argument of the Thesis

The argument of the research is that the general disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community is rooted in their own Anglo-Indian schools. There are three crucial issues in relation to this.

ISSUE ONE

The size and ethnicity of a community which is unable to establish itself as a cohesive whole. It is internally divided as to its constituent membership, that is, who **IS** an Anglo-Indian? This is most clearly revealed by the continuing inconclusive debates about the actual size of the community. If the community could agree on this issue, it might have a clearer sense of its own size and political power. It could seek to implement educational policies which would offer all Anglo-Indians greater opportunities to succeed along with the other Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools. This would enable the community to successfully face the challenges of modern India.

ISSUE TWO

These English language medium schools possess a curriculum which places undue emphasis on English as a second language for Indian students. This occurs at the expense of instruction for Anglo-Indians in the medium of an Indian language. This policy, evolved when India was under British (and English language) domination, places Anglo-Indian students at a considerable linguistic disadvantage in modern India. Indian students attending Anglo-Indian schools become bilingual in an Indian language and English. Anglo-Indians remain monolingual in English and are ineffective communicators in an Indian language.

ISSUE THREE

Christianity is the religion of the Anglo-Indian schools. Christianity is taught to Anglo-Indians in isolation from the Indian students. Christianity is considered by many other Indians as an imported religion associated with British and European Imperialism and linked with colonialism and oppression. There are few opportunities to

reflect upon a shared human experience of religion between Anglo-Indians and Indians. This religious ethos has created a non-integrative factor in Anglo-Indian schools. (1)

In addition to these three issues, it is further argued in this thesis that these issues have combined to produce an education system that ensures that Anglo-Indians cannot compete on equal terms with other Indians for jobs. They can seldom communicate effectively and/or understand other Indians.

This thesis also examines the role of education in the more general social and economic disadvantage suffered by the Anglo-Indian minority community in India. The thesis offers some suggestions to help Anglo-Indians overcome this educational disadvantage. Changes could be made in the current delivery of the curriculum in Anglo-Indian schools.

It will be argued in this thesis that the roots of these three issues can be traced in the history of the Anglo-Indian community. This is a major factor that underlies their socio-economic disadvantage. This community which developed in various parts of colonial India was encouraged, from its earliest days, to identify itself with its colonial masters and to segregate itself from the larger India.

Anglo-Indian history is explored in detail in Chapters 2-4 below. Even in 1990, the community had not rid itself of this historical millstone, as its continued isolation illustrates. Thus, in order to facilitate a knowledge of Anglo-Indian education, it is necessary to investigate this still largely unexplored history. This is one of the main purposes of this thesis.

For the sake of clarity it is important to:

- identify the community as it is now;
- locate the style of its educational system now;
- specify its current socio-economic position.

It is the view of the researcher that, surprisingly, Anglo-Indians do not consider themselves disadvantaged by their educational system.

3. The Anglo-Indian Community now and its Schools.

The Anglo-Indians in India are of mixed parentage and are a small minority community in modern India. The community's singularity is partly explained by its unique combination of language, religion and race. The Anglo-Indians' mother tongue is English. Their religion is Christianity. Their parentage is European and Indian. More formally, as the Indian Constitution states in Article 366(2), an Anglo-Indian is a

> ... person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territories of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only. (2)

This definition of the Anglo-Indian in India will be used to describe the community, although, as will be made clear later in Chapter 6, its use is problematic. (3)

The protection of the community's rights are also enshrined in the Constitution of India. Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) state

> Any section of citizens residing in any territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. This protection extends to its right to administer its own schools where the community's Christian heritage is fostered and the English mother tongue is reinforced through its use as the medium of instruction.

and

> All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. (4)

The definition of the Anglo-Indian and the two Articles in the Indian Constitution protect the Anglo-Indian schools and guarantees their survival in India as schools for the education of the Anglo-Indians. However, the present system of Anglo-Indian education is a British legacy. The schools remain private and elitist: while some still bear a resemblance to the public schools in Britain.

These minority schools still exist, in theory, for the benefit and education of the community. They are a mixture of day schools and residential schools. These schools are much sought after by wealthy and influential non Anglo-Indian Indians, who want their children to acquire fluency in English. Yet, they are also schools which appear to fail the very children that they were set up to help.

In 1990, during the field research, an Anglo-Indian teacher commented about Anglo-Indian students in his school.

> Out of every twenty Anglo-Indians only one manages to complete twelve years of schooling. The reason lies in the language problem.

> Anglo-Indians are still failing to learn an Indian language. Anglo-Indians are forced to repeat a year in the same class if they fail the Indian language examination. (5)

This factor, amongst others, leads to drop outs and/or poor academic qualifications for many Anglo-Indians. Success in an Indian language is linked to academic success at 16+ and 18+. The language casualty rate has reached epidemic proportions in Anglo-Indian schools because the Language policy and teaching methods have remained unchanged since 1954. (6)

The Anglo-Indian English mother-tongue speakers are still unable to speak, read and write an Indian language. The Indians have continued to learn to speak, read and write English. Anglo-Indians fail Indian language examinations. Indians do not fail Indian language examinations. Anglo-Indians do not gain access to further (16+) and higher education (18+), because they are not bilingual. Indians who attend the schools become bilingual in English and an Indian language. The Indians are succeeding because bilingualism in English and an Indian language is a prerequisite for entry into higher education in India.

Anglo-Indian schools were established in India for two main reasons. The first was that the British colonialists wanted a pliant, cheap, literate and loyal workforce to fill "reserved" low-level positions in essential services such as the railways, customs and excise, post and telegraph and police. The second was that Christian missionaries wanted to evangelise the Indian population and saw the Anglo-Indian population as an ideal entry point. These reasons are described in more detail in Chapters 2-4.

The schools were consciously moulded via a linguistic, religious and racial framework to guide the Anglo-Indians sensibly and fairly to their political, social and economic

roles under the British Raj. The basic assumptions which underlay this help explain the colonial legacy in these schools.

The schools also helped to preserve and extend the power, prestige and wealth of the European military, missionaries and traders. They linked the English language and Christian religion to a specific community - the Anglo-Indians. (7) Neither colonial administrators nor Christian missionaries, it seems, were committed to producing students who were competitive, ambitious and desirous of higher education.

Chapter 3 of the thesis argues that the schools developed a two-tiered structure: the "High-and-Mighty-Hill-Schools"; and the "Poorer-Plains Schools". (8) A selective admission criteria grew up, which effectively divided the "haves" from the "have-nots". The "Great Divide" reinforced the under-achievement in the socio-economic strata of the Anglo-Indian community. The repressive nature of the schooling process is nowhere more clearly revealed than in the statistics about poverty in the Anglo-Indian community at the end of the nineteenth century. The educational system served through a correspondence of its relations with the British colonialists to reproduce economic inequality and distorted the Anglo-Indian's ambition for higher education. (9)

Chapter 4 describes the twentieth century patrons of Anglo-Indian schools. These were the wealthy Indians who wanted an education in an English medium school. In spite of the best efforts of the various Associations who help the Anglo-Indians, these schools in 1990 were catering to only a few Anglo-Indians. Even the so called "poorer plains schools" were catering for the new Indian elite rather than the poor Anglo-Indians and as a result, had also become wealthy schools. (10) Anglo-Indians were staying away from

Anglo-Indian schools and the political representatives of the community were unable, or unwilling, to identify the reasons for the crisis.

The community is represented in Parliament by two Anglo-Indian Members of Parliament who are nominated by the President of India. Each State had a nominated Anglo-Indian Member of the State Legislative Assembly. Therefore, on a political plane, the Government of India had done what it could to protect this minority community. But, even with a protected power base and voice in Parliament and the State Legislatures, the educational disadvantage has continued, with large numbers of Anglo-Indians failing to gain any academic qualifications at 16+ or 18+. (11)

Such disadvantage was apparent to the international community of Anglo-Indians and the Anglo-Indians in Indian slums. The disadvantage seems to have completely escaped the Anglo-Indians who were the educationists, administrators and managers of the schools. (12)

The schools were unable to deliver the curriculum to Anglo-Indians, for whom the schools existed. This makes the Anglo-Indian schools unequal for Anglo-Indians. In 1990, the chances of attaining much or little schooling depended on one's economic level. The "cycle of disadvantage" caught the community in its grip, because

> ... unsuccessful parents will inevitably pass along some of their disadvantage,

and this disadvantage is an endless cycle. (13)

A more effective and appropriate Anglo-Indian education for the 1990s would increase the academic achievement levels of Anglo-Indian students. To consider this educational change for Anglo-Indians in isolation from the Indians is

unrealistic.

The change should occur without hampering the outstanding academic progress of Indian students attending Anglo-Indian schools. The argument is simple enough and is linked to equal opportunities. Anglo-Indians and Indians should both enjoy economic success via the Anglo-Indian educational system.

4. The structure of the Thesis.

In order to understand the contemporary position, it was essential to undertake an historical analysis of the growth of the Anglo-Indian community and its schooling system. This analysis is the major concern of much of Chapters 2, 3, and 4.

The historical research is divided into two periods, that is, 1500 -1786, and 1786 - 1990. The year 1786 was chosen because the Anglo-Indians were not obviously disadvantaged from 1500 - 1786. The disadvantage started in 1786 when the East India Company introduced a series of repressive policies aimed at the Anglo-Indian community.

This disadvantage, both educational and social, has continued into the last decade of the twentieth century. The historical research attempts to explain the historical origins of this current educational inequality in the community.

To understand more clearly what exactly was happening in Anglo-Indian education today, it was essential to research the system in India. The methodological issues raised by this are discussed in Chapter 5. Seven research methods were examined, and the survey research method was selected as being the most appropriate to describing the existing

conditions in Anglo-Indian schools.

The task of Chapter 6 is rigorously to examine the key and contentious issues of the size and ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian community. None of the Anglo-Indian associations were capable of estimating the size of the community. Each association was part of its own micro-level consultative network. A picture was emerging of a fragmented community which could not count its own numbers.

Anglo-Indian schools are scattered all over India. So, in order to inform the writer's decision on cluster sampling, as early as practicable, the survey population needed to be defined. The lack of information about size and ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian community in India created a problem for the researcher in planning her itinerary.

The States of Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Meghalaya, Haryana and the Union Territory of Delhi were all included in the researcher's itinerary. The itinerary covered a distance of 4640 statute miles. There were 628 respondents. The profiles of these respondents together with verbatim comments, where appropriate, are at Appendix 1.

In summary, the survey's data indicated that there were not less than 300,000, and not more than 500,000 Anglo-Indians in 1990. Greater precision was impracticable, and itself indicates part of the problems that this particular community faces at this time in its history.

The two other issues that the field work concentrated on were language (c.f. discussed below in Ch.7 pp.248-272) and the debate about religion (c.f. discussed below in Ch. 8 pp. 295-311). Both these issues were linked to the maintenance of educational disadvantage within the community. It was confirmed that Anglo-Indians were

failing to pass the Indian language examinations in their schools. They were dropping out of education because they were repeating years in the same class. The language education policy in Anglo-Indian schools had to be investigated.

Christianity had segregated the Anglo-Indians from other Indians in the schools. This had introduced an educational apartheid which did nothing to help integrate the Anglo-Indian community with other Indians. The religious education policy in Anglo-Indian schools had to be investigated.

Chapter 9 of the thesis offers a proposal to eliminate disadvantage. The proposal is made on the basis of the evidence in the previous chapters. A theory-practice model of Anglo-Indian education is offered to the schools, based on:

- classroom observation in Anglo-Indian schools;
- interviews with Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indian students, teachers and other adults from the Anglo-Indian community; and,
- the writer's own educational experience in an Anglo-Indian school.

The theory-practice model proposed has its roots in philosophical analysis, psychological examination and sociological justification. The model is concerned with changing the style of teaching Indian languages, from repetitive, memory work to a creative activity. This change will enhance the learning experience which will become more significant, personal and experiential. The theory-practice model proposed also aims to encourage a cross-cultural religious policy which will increase tolerance and understanding between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians.

The concluding Chapter 10 pulls the threads of this thesis together. There are six main conclusions:

- Identification of new groups of Anglo-Indians;
- Anglo-Indian associations should create a solidarity;
- A Central Board of Management for **all** Anglo-Indian schools with professionals instead of politicians as administrators;
- Anglo-Indian schools should be accountable to the Anglo-Indian community;
- The researcher's theory-practice model for Anglo-Indian schools to eliminate disadvantage among Anglo-Indian students should be implemented.
- Anglo-Indian University Colleges affiliated to Indian Universities should be built.

This thesis also makes six recommendations in relation to these conclusions. Suggestions are also made for future research into the Anglo-Indian community. (14)

5. Conclusions

This chapter has explored the argument of the thesis namely, that the general disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community is rooted in their own Anglo-Indian schools. There are three crucial issues in the argument.

First, the Anglo-Indian community is unable to establish who is an Anglo-Indian. There are debates about the ethnicity and size of the Anglo-Indian community. This has affected the implementation of egalitarian educational policies for all Anglo-Indian schools. Thus, Anglo-Indian education is highly unequal. The chances of attaining much or little schooling is dependent on establishing Anglo-

Indian ethnicity and the parents' economic level.

Second, the English language education policy is not dictated by the needs of Anglo-Indians who need to learn it as a mother tongue. The language policy is dictated by the needs of wealthy Indians who want to learn English as a second language. The language policy in Anglo-Indian schools has created an inequality in years of schooling for Anglo-Indians. They fail to pass Indian language examinations and drop out of school in large numbers or fail at 16+ or 18+ and cannot enter further or higher education.

Third, the religious education policy of these Christian schools has not enabled Anglo-Indian Christians to understand and/or integrate with other Indians who are Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Buddhists or Jains.

As was indicated in the discussion of this chapter, these issues can only be understood within their historical context. The next chapter begins this task and describes the beginnings of the Anglo-Indian community in the fifteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Dalton, E. (1966) Mission of Help Church Mission Society Triple Jubilee Souvenir. Kottayam, Kerala: Church Mission Press p.5; see also, De Montmorency, G. (1939) The Anglo-Indian Community: An Indian Problem UNITED EMPIRE Vol.XXX pp.LXVII-LXIX; see also, Eapen, K.V. (1979) A Study on the contribution of the Church Mission Society to the Progress and Development of Education in Kerala Unpublished Thesis Ph.D. in Education University of Kerala (p.51); see also, Laird, M.A. (1972) Missionaries and Education in Bengal, (1793-1837) Oxford: Clarenden Press (p.35); see also, Law, N. N. (1915) Promotion of Learning in India by European Settlers up to 1800 A.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co., (pp.80-1); see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978) English In India: A Historical Study with particular reference to English Education in India Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan (p.12); see also, Yaquin, A. (1982) Constitutional Protection of Minority Education Institutions in India New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications (p.31)

(2) The definition of the Anglo-Indian is found in Article 366(2) of the Government of India Act of 1935 and in Article 366(2) of the Constitution of India 1950

(3) The offspring of Portuguese men and Indian women were known as Luso-Indians. The descendants of Luso-Indians live in Goa on the west coast of India. They have Portuguese surnames. (p.10); see, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.10). In Madras the descendants of European men and Indian women were called Topasses and in Bengal were known as Firinghees. The Anglo-Indians wore a hat (topi), and the name topasses was derived from the word topi.

The word Firinghee was derived from Fringy, which was used by Europeans to describe the "black Messtee Portuguese Christians". This description was written in a letter to Drake, President and Governor of Bengal, dated the 16th June, 1755. (p.13); see also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (p.13). Anglo-Indians have also been called "half countrimen", "mesticos", "East Indians", "country-born", "Indo Britain", "Indo-European" and "Eurindian", and "Eurasian"; see also, Goodrich, D.W. (1942) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India State College of Washington Ph.D. University of California. Goodrich conducted a research into the Anglo-Indian community, and these ethnic groupings were described by her in her thesis. (p.2) Goodrich classified Anglo-Indians as

a "new social grouping of mankind". (p.1) Her thesis did not examine why Eurasians became conscious of themselves as Anglo-Indians, constituting a group, but rather when and how Anglo-Indians became conscious of themselves as a community. (p.6)

Goodrich concluded that the European powers in the eighteenth century

> ... found it expedient to set their own interests apart from those of the Eurasians, and began to attribute an identity to the hybrid people as a class. (p.6)

See also, Williamson, T. (Capt.) (1810) The East India Vade Mecum, or Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Services of the Honourable East India Company Vol I (pp.458-9). This handbook described the children of European fathers and Indian women as effeminate, weak, ill-disposed with many of the "unfortunate girls becoming insane;" see also, Naidis, M. (1963) op. cit., (p.412); see also, Moreno, H.W. (1923) Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission Volume V January (pp.76-82) Moreno referred to Anglo-Indians as "mixed-blood, half-castes, mixed breeds and Indo-Britons" (pp.76-82); see also, Lord Canning's Minute of October 29, 1860 which referred to the Anglo-Indian community as "Indianised English." (p.48) in an article written by, Edwards, I. (1881) 'Eurasians and Poor Europeans in India' THE CALCUTTA REVIEW Volume LXII, Art. 11; see also, Park, R.E. (1928) 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY May Vol.33 pp.881-893. Park, R.E. referred to Anglo-Indians as a "cultural hybrid", community which lived and shared intimately "in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples." (pp.881-893)

(4) Yaqin, A. (1982) op. cit., p. 31 Articles 29(1) and 30(1) of the Constitution of India 1950. The Constituent Assembly did not concede any political rights to any other minority except the Anglo-Indians.

(5) See Profile No. 372.

(6) See, AIR 1954, Supreme Court 561 (pp.568-69). In 1954, Justice Das of the Supreme Court offered the most balanced description of Anglo-Indian education. For a detailed account of the Bombay Schools' Case (1954) read Chapter 4. Paras 3.1; 4.2. and 4.3.

(7) Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) op. cit., (p.64); see also, Law, N. N. (1915) op. cit., (p.10); see also, Love, H.D. (1913) Vestiges of Old Madras Vol. I London: John Murray (p.499); see also, Penny, F. (1904) The Church in Madras London: Smith Elder & Co. (p.167)

(8) Allen, C. (1977) op.cit., (pp.90-1). Anglo-Indian schools were built in the plains and in the hill-stations. The hill-station schools were situated in the foothills of the Himalayas in the north and the Nilgiris in the south. The hill-stations at Murree, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Darjeeling and Shillong were in the foothills of the Himalayas. Ootacamund and Kodaikanal were two hill-stations in the Nilgiris or Blue Mountains. The schools were elitist and reflected the exclusive and isolationist social practices of the British in India. For further details about the Great Divide see Chapter 3. See also, Graham, J.A. (1934) The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November 23 pp.21-46 The St. Andrew's Homes were built by Dr. Graham for the poor in Kalimpong, (foothills of the Himalayas); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian Schools in India Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London, Institute of Education. (p.79) The Bishop Cotton Schools were "founded in favourably hilly climates". (p.79) See also, Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

(9) See, Craig, H.I. (1990) Under The Old School Topee Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia. This book was based on anecdotal accounts by students of Anglo-Indian schools. It made references to the elitist, exclusive hill-station schools in Murree, Simla, Darjeeling etc.,. which were built by the European missionaries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the children of wealthy European colonialists, Anglo-Indians and Indians. These Anglo-Indian schools followed a tradition of the British public school and were built in the foothills of the Himalayas which exuded comfort and the carefree, camaraderie of the rich. The "old tie" or in this case the "old school topee" (Topee: hat), network of upper and middle-class Colonial India continues in these privileged Anglo-Indian schools in the foothills of the Himalayas in the north of India, and the Nilgiris in the south of India.

(10) In 1990, there were a number of elitist Anglo-Indian schools built in the plains. The field study interviewed students in the Frank Anthony School in Bangalore, Christ Church Anglo-Indian School in Bombay and Madras. Loreto Convent, Middleton Row and Sealdah.in Calcutta. There were very few Anglo-Indians in these schools.

(11) Yaqin, A. (1982) op. cit., (p.31)

(12) DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op. cit., (pp.296-306); see also, Maher, R.J. (1962) op. cit., (p.15)

(13) Jencks, C., Smith, M., Acland, H., Bane, K.J., Cohen, D., Gintis, H., Heyns, B., and Michelson, S. (1972)

Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America London: Allen Lane; see also, Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1977) Cycles of Disadvantage A Review of Research - London: Heinemann; see also, Ramsay, H. (1977) 'Cycles of Control' SOCIOLOGY 11(3) September; see also, Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1976) op. cit.,

(14) A down-to-earth book with advice for all researchers is written by Phillips, M.E. and Pugh, D.S. (1988) How to get a Ph.D.: Managing the peaks and troughs of research Milton Keynes: Open University Press. On page 55 of this book is a paragraph on "Contribution".

> It is concerned with your evaluation of the importance of your thesis to the development of the discipline. It is here that you underline the significance of your analysis, point out the limitations in your material, suggest what new work is now appropriate, and so on.....Thus your successors (who include, of course, yourself) now face a different situation when determining what their research work should be since they now have to take account of your work.

Phillips and Pugh argue that all good research is significant but limited. Therefore, in the most general terms, one's thesis should produce successors. The researcher gave careful thought to the limitations of this thesis. Appendix 5 offers suggestions of areas for future research into the Anglo-Indian community.

CHAPTER 2

INDIA'S EUROPEAN CONNECTION 1500-1786: THE ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS AND THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the impact of the collective aims of the European traders, soldiers, administrators, politicians and missionaries on Anglo-Indian education. The education of Anglo-Indians was a by-product of the colonialists' own expansionist temporal and spiritual objectives. (1) Anglo-Indian education was incidental to the ambitions of Europeans colonialists and missionaries. This by-product of colonial and missionary ambitions, known as "Anglo-Indian education" had great implications for the Anglo-Indian community.

This chapter supports the view that, in order to understand the predicament of Anglo-Indians in contemporary India, it is necessary to understand the history of this community. The Anglo-Indian education system was organised to meet its supposed educational needs under the colonialists.

The structure of this chapter is as follows:

(i) The creation of the Anglo-Indian community

(ii) The impact of colonialism and the missions on the Anglo-Indian community

(iii) The development of Anglo-Indian education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

(iv) A brief conclusion pulls together the chapter and draws out the key elements of the analysis that

will be carried forward into the subsequent analysis.

The next section describes the origin of the Anglo-Indian community which would not have been created had it not been for European expansionist policies and the pursuit of wealth through trade.

2. The creation of the Anglo-Indian community

The creation of the Anglo-Indian community began in the fifteenth century with "Europe's touch with India". The Portuguese voyager Vasco da Gama arrived in Calicut on the south west coast of India in 1498 after discovering the sea route to India around the Cape of Good Hope. (2)

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who married Indians. In 1510, Alfonso d'Albuqurque, the second Governor of Portuguese colonies in India, encouraged his men to marry the widows of Muslim warriors slain in battles with the Portuguese. (3) He was a colonialist and a missionary, who offered dowries of land, cattle and horses to the married couples while insisting that the women were converted to Christianity. (4)

The Anglo-Indian community increased rapidly during the rise of the Portuguese in India between 1497-1550. Later, the Anglo-Indian "mixed bloods" belonged to various classes in India, because the Europeans married Indian women from different sections of Indian society and caste-divisions appeared in non-Hindu communities. The Dutch, French, Germans, Flemish, Italians and Danes who arrived in India to trade also intermarried with Indian women. (5)

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, microcosmic Anglo-Indian communities sprang up where Europeans traded

with India. (6) Each "mixed blood" community developed separately. They were usually unaware of their own community's total size and ethnicity because of inadequate communication and transport.

By 1595, the Dutch had arrived and were followed by the English who established a factory in 1612 in Surat. The Danish East India Company operated from 1616 in Tranquebar in south India. The French acquired Pondicherry in south-east India in 1674. (7)

This territorial expansion and the wealth in India eventually led to the conquest of its people. The Dutch, French, Danes and English attempted to convert the Indians to Christianity. (8) Some of the European empire builders became settlers. The descendants of European men and Indian women are the Anglo-Indians. In this thesis, therefore, the definition in the Constitution of India is used to describe all descendants of European men and Indian women as Anglo-Indians. (9)

The Anglo side of the Anglo-Indian community can be traced on the paternal line of descent to Armenia, England, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Ireland, Portugal, Scotland, Spain and Wales. The Indian maternal line of descent can be traced to women from all parts of the Indian sub-continent - the present states of Bharat (the Republic of India), Pakistan and Bangladesh. In this thesis, the subcontinent is, for historical purposes, called India.

The earliest Anglo-Indian missionary schools were an accidental by-product of the temporal expansionist policies of the European traders and the spiritual ambitions of European missionaries. Both traders and missionaries were seeking power in the Indian subcontinent. The first schools reflected the need the traders had for a work force which understood a European language and

possessed Christian values. The missionaries started schools which provided such a Christian work force.

The European traders and their military advisers also needed the support of a family which meant women and children. Family life was supported by Christian religious practices and traditions which were reflected in the education of Anglo-Indians. The present day Anglo-Indian schools owe their existence to these two reasons.

2.1. The acceptance of Christianity

Hinduism rejected the Anglo-Indian "mixed" community. The Hindu caste system, being spiritually aristocratic, rejected the Hindu woman who bore children of Europeans and thus lost their caste. Similarly, Indian Islam at that time did not accept what they saw as miscegenation. These religious traditions forced the Anglo-Indians to become Christians, because they were living on the periphery of two different social worlds, and the link of the Anglo-Indian with the Indian

> ... served only to vitiate its standing in the other. (10)

The choice of Christianity, if ever there was one, was made because of social reasons. Christianity was thrust upon the community. It did solve the dilemma of the dual European and Indian heritage among the Anglo-Indians. Christianity offered them a common identity and group consciousness. In the vast sub-continent of Hindu and Muslim India the Anglo-Indians therefore developed as a small but self-conscious Christian community. (11)

The European and Indian intermixture has been the subject of many anthropological studies. Attempts have been made

to find out the degree of intermixture in the Anglo-Indian community. The findings of these anthropological studies state that the English element predominates in the Anglo-Indians when compared to the other European colonialists. The findings of the anthropological survey of 1953 further stated that all Anglo-Indians are Christian. (12)

By 1687 the East India Company was paying a pagoda (gold mohur) to the mother of each baptised child because the English racist ideological policy accepted these offspring as being consciously English in culture. (13) Acceptance of the Anglo-Indian by the English was an important and historical step for the English, because the East India Company was expanding, and needed loyal, English educated administrators.

The parameters of patriotic political collaboration was extended to the Anglo-Indian community because it suited the requirements of the Company. The community which could play no effective role in Hinduism and Islam and was linked to Christianity was expected to integrate with the English. (14)

2.2. The acceptance of European languages

The dissemination of Christian values along with education was sought by the missionaries and they opened their institutions to European, Anglo-Indian and other Indian children. The language of the schools originally was a mix of several Indian languages which gradually disappeared as more Indians became educated in European languages.

The teaching of European languages along with Christianity influenced the religious and political outlook of wealthy, educated Indians. This influence stopped short of

conversion to Christianity. By conversion to Christianity the missionaries extended their territory and increased their power and prestige over the Anglo-Indians who were baptised as Christians. (15) As the English hegemony over India increased at the expense of the Portuguese and other European powers, so the English language and Christianity increasingly linked the Anglo-Indians to the English. (16)

The cultural ties of language, religion and ethnicity were insufficient to establish close ties with the English however, because of racism. The Indians did not trust the Anglo-Indians because the community had rejected their Indian cultural heritage in favour of learning the English language and embracing Christianity. The rejection of the mother's cultural heritage set the community apart. That was reflected in Anglo-Indian schools where Christianity, the English language and the English way of life became dominant. These themes are the subject of the next section.

3. The impact of colonialism and the Christian missionaries on the Anglo-Indian community.

From the beginnings of the Anglo-Indian community, Christian educational institutions (both Catholic and Anglican) taught religion and the three "R's" to the Anglo-Indians. As a result, the Anglo-Indian community was and largely remains a Christian community.

Also, from the beginning, missionary education in India had both evangelical and political overtones. (17) Later, when political dominance of India was important for the East India Company, conversion was seen to be a display of loyalty to the English.

As a consequence, religious instruction would help the Anglo-Indians to be loyal, unlike the earlier Portuguese

Missionary educational intent which was the conversion to Christianity of all Indians. (18)

In 1600 the East India Company received its Charter to trade. The English were in India for the next three hundred and fifty years, and their influence on the Anglo-Indian educational system cannot be overestimated. After receiving the Charter in 1600 the East India Company offered some grants for education, but more often than not, the Company left education to the missionaries and private donations.

The English established a factory in 1612 in Surat on the West coast of India and in 1639 had built another in Madras. These establishments had European missionaries who established churches and schools. After trade and survival, education was always listed third on the Agenda of the English who came to India. (19) The number one priority was trade, and when Bombay became a Crown colony in 1665 the English had problems with the Portuguese, the Moguls and the local Mahratta pirates. Survival not education was the important issue. (20)

In 1672, the English Governor Gerald Aungier who is considered as the founding father of Bombay encouraged settlement and made plans for each religious and racial community to have representatives. He laid plans for a church and the spreading of Christianity. Aungier embodied evangelical imperialism and it was Aungier's Bombay that Fryer described as a town in which lived groups of English, Portuguese, Topazes (Indo-Portuguese), Gentoos (Hindus), Moors (Moslems), Coolies and Christians who were mostly fishermen. (21)

In 1673, the Rev. Pringle opened a school in Madras, at Fort St. George for Anglo-Indians and the children of a few other Indians. The medium of instruction was English, the

regional languages and a Portuguese patois. Pringle was followed by Ralph Orde in 1677 and his Commission stated that he was to teach the children to read and write in English and to instruct them in Christianity. Orde's Commission is the first record made which linked English and Christianity in Anglo-Indian education. (22)

The expansionist policy of the English demanded a more literate and efficient work force. The education they provided would enable the Anglo-Indians to understand English culture. As a result, it was hoped, in their "manners, habits and affections" the Anglo-Indians would become more like the English. That would make it possible for them to offer their services as soldiers, sailors and servants.

This, it was claimed, would be a

> ... considerable benefit to the British interests in India.

The final result of the Christian, English education would be of

> ... advantage to this kingdom, intending to give stability to the settlements. (23)

The Anglo-Indians were being educated to support the expansionist policies of the East India Company in India. Their subordinate class consciousness within a culturally loaded curriculum was being firmly planted as early as the seventeenth century. This policy continued in the eighteenth century as will be discussed in the next section.

4. The development of Anglo-Indian education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Between 1681-1707, an East India Company official, John Barker improved the educational facilities of the school for Indians in Fort St. George, Madras. In 1696, George Lewis an enthusiastic Chaplain and teacher employed by the East India Company proposed the first single-sex English language medium school in Madras. This met with no response. So, instead, this entrepreneurial educationist started a Free school with Portuguese as the medium of instruction.

In 1713, a further East India Company Charter referred to education. Schoolmasters had to be included in the personnel who administered the garrison and factory schools. In 1715, Stevenson changed the medium in the Free School in Madras from Portuguese to English and renamed it St. Mary's Charity School.

In 1731, Reverend Gervas Bellamy opened a charity school in Calcutta and admitted girls in 1787; and by 1789 the coeducational school was moved to Cossipore. Although called Christian schools, the majority of the pupils were from the Anglo-Indian community. (24)

It was during the eighteenth century that girls were admitted to school, and the coeducational school in Cossipore was innovative and successful. By the late eighteenth century, the need for educated clerks had grown along with the expansionist policies of the English.

In 1781, Warren Hastings recognised the problem of providing efficient administrators for the East India Company and started to promote education for all Indians, not just the small Anglo-Indian minority. (25) His chief motive was a political one, because he wanted the trust of

influential Hindus and Muslims. To this end, he established the Calcutta Madrassah school in 1781. (26)

At the same time, however, further educational resources for Anglo-Indian schools were made available because the East India Company needed a loyal work force to support their expansionist policies. (27) The Anglo-Indians who attended these schools were not being educated to become the administrators. Therefore, the type of schooling offered to the Anglo-Indians did not offer access to selective or higher education.

There were however, Anglo-Indian children whose wealthy British fathers sent them to England to be educated. Many of these Anglo-Indian young men, whose fathers were officials in the Company, after completing their education in England, returned as covenanted and commissioned officers in the East India Company.

> Some even rose to high positions like Sir Hugh Massey Wheeler of Mutiny fame; James Kyd the Master Shipbuilder to the East India Company and William and John Palmer whose father was Military Secretary to Warren Hastings and who founded the great Banking House of Palmer and Company in Hyderabad. (28)

The next section describes the wealthy Europeans who became the benefactors of education. It also discusses the European Christian missionaries who entered India to evangelise and educate.

4.1. The Educational Policy of the East India Company, Entrepreneurial Educationists and Christian Missionaries

Anglo-Indian educational expansion continued throughout the century. On March 13, 1783, Major General Kirkpatrick

founded the Military Orphan Society. The East India Company made a contribution of Rupees Three per month for each orphan of the Lower Orphan Society to educate, clothe and feed the orphaned Anglo-Indian children of soldiers. Similar contributions were also made by the Company's officers for the upkeep of the school.

Majors paid Sicca Rupees nine per month. Captains and Surgeons paid Sicca Rupees six per month and Subalterns and Assistant Surgeons paid Sicca Rupees three per month. By 1786, the contribution paid by the East India Company was Sicca Rupees Five per child per month. At that point, the Company made a grant of Rupees forty thousand for the Lower Orphan Society and Levitt's house was purchased. (29) The education of Anglo-Indian orphans created the stereotype of the poor Anglo-Indian child who had to be supported by public funds.

The benevolence of the military towards these children was a facade. It facilitated the stratification of the Anglo-Indian community into a class of subordinates who received education as a hand-out. The poor Anglo-Indian orphan child etched the perspective deeply into the Anglo-Indian culture.

In 1787, Lady Campbell, the wife of the Governor of Fort St. George opened the first Girls' School. It was called the Female Orphan Asylum, and again, catered for Anglo-Indian children. Two years' later, in 1789, the Madras Male Orphan Asylum (the successor to St. Mary's Charity School) was opened by Dr. Andrew Bell.

Bell rejected the racist description for Anglo-Indians. The mixed community were referred to as an inferior race who lacked intelligence and possessed no moral values. The school was highly admired, and the anti-racist attitude of Bell was reflected in the student's success.

On December 21, 1789 the Free School Society of Bengal was started to provide a Free School for the children of poor Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The Patron was the Governor General and the Church Wardens were perpetual treasurers. The Charity school and the Calcutta Free School were amalgamated in 1800. The record showed that there were 159 children. Anglo-Indian children were still being offered differentiated education which was dependant upon the rank of the father in the military or the Company. (30)

There was a difference between the Free School education offered by the English at the Calcutta Madrassah school, and the Free School education offered to Anglo-Indians. The Indians and the Anglo-Indians were both offered educational opportunities. To all intents and purposes the schools offered one kind of education.

The Madrassah and the Orphan schools were not comparable. Anglo-Indians were being educated to fulfil a subordinate role in the East India Company's work in India. (31) Thus a form of educational disadvantage had made its appearance in the late eighteenth century.

In December 1790, John Holmes opened the Madras Academy and in 1791 the Female Boarding School was opened by Mrs. Murray, who advertised the school in the "Madras Courier". Dame schools offered a limited curriculum to Anglo-Indians, and only existed for a short time.

In 1791, the Benares Sanskrit College was founded. This College was responsible for preserving and educating Indians in Hindu law. The move was political because the English wanted to improve relations with the Indians. (32)

The Anglo-Indians were offered a curriculum which was different (and inferior) to the curriculum offered in the

Benares Sanskrit College. By the late eighteenth century, substantial inequality in economic privilege and social status was clear in Anglo-Indian schools.

There was little chance for Anglo-Indians to come into touch with the broader environment offered to Sanskrit scholars. The European Orientalists favoured a Sanskrit education, and the proposal for Indians to be educated in Sanskrit was met with enthusiasm.

One year separates the establishment of Mrs. Murray's female Boarding School and the Benares Sanskrit College. Anglo-Indians and Indians were being divided into racially, sexually and ethnically distinct sections, and the justification of the consequent inequality must increasingly lie in the growing educational inequalities.

This casts further doubts on the fairness of the educational experience of Anglo-Indians at that time and subsequently. The education system played a central role in preparing Anglo-Indians for a world of work in which they were stratified into low-skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

The next section describes the repression of Anglo-Indians. The community was growing larger and there were fears that Anglo-Indians would revolt against the East India Company.

4.2. Anglo-Indians and the educational repression of 1786

By 1750 the encouragement of mixed marriages between Europeans and Indians created a problem; the number of Anglo-Indians who were employed in the East India Company had increased. Anglo-Indians threatened to outnumber the English in the employment of the East India Company.

Englishmen from the upper classes began to arrive in India, attracted by the wealth which was accumulated by the retired East India Company officials, who would flaunt their possessions in England. English women began to arrive in India, and for the first time

> ... their coming was quickly followed by the establishment of a colour line, the attachment of a decided stigma to marital or extramarital relations with Indian women. (33)

The seeds for the repressive policies of the 1780s were sown in a field of racism.

The repressive policies occurred initially because of rampant nepotism among the East India Company's officers. Employment was only to be given to Englishmen who were educated in England. Anglo-Indians were also being educated in England. They were returning to influential positions in the East India Company. To this was soon added a growing fear among the Company's Directors that the Anglo-Indians would stage a similar revolution to the one by the mulattoes of Haiti which had occurred in 1791.

Anglo-Indians were debarred from both military and civil service in the company leading to disadvantage and the impoverishment of the community. The repressive policies that the English adopted towards the Anglo-Indians at this time were comprehensive. Seven, in particular, stand out.

1.Class differentials in access to selective education

In March 1786 the first repressive policies against the Anglo-Indian community started. The Anglo-Indian wards of the Upper Orphanage School were not given permission by the Company to proceed to England to complete their education. The reason offered by the Company was based on racism in that the reason given was that the

> ... English climate would not be agreeable to children of native women because, the children would display vicious dispositions they had inherited, if they were to continue their education in Britain. (34)

2. The impoverishment of the Anglo-Indians

At the same time, many Anglo-Indians were discharged from the East India Company's service, and their only alternative was to offer their services to the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Sultan of Mysore, the Maharatta chiefs Sindhia and Holkar and the Nawab of Oudh. Hyder Hearsay and James Skinner, both Anglo-Indians who were denied employment elsewhere, raised their own cavalry and infantry regiments. Out of adversity came some of the most adventurous and dashing heroes in Anglo-Indian history. (35)

3. Racial prejudice and distrust towards the Anglo-Indians

The English became very anxious because of the Haiti Revolt by the mulatto (mixed parentage) community, and the distrust became immediately linked to the Anglo-Indian in India. Between 1802-1806, the prominent English traveller and politician, Viscount Valentia's distrust of the Haitian mulatto prejudiced him about the Anglo-Indian community. He became very concerned about the

> ... half-caste children who were becoming an accumulating evil in Bengal. (36)

In 1795, with Haiti still in mind, another repressive order was passed by the East India Company. The order stated that no son born of an Indian or not descended on both sides from European parents was to be allowed in the commissioned ranks of the European Army and the Native Sepoy Army. The latter was also officered by Europeans. (37)

4. Extension of European patronage.

Within the East India Company, nepotism formally existed through various forms of patronage. At this time, Anglo-Indians were formally excluded from benefitting from this form of sponsored mobility. (38)

5. Anglo-Indians face penalties and reprisals

By 1798, the East India Company was faced with the threat of Tipu Sultan of Mysore. At about the same time the Mahratta Chiefs Bhonsla, Sindhia and Holkar had declared war on the Company. A Proclamation in 1798 summoned the Anglo-Indians back to fight for the Company and threatened the community with severe penalties if they failed to comply. But by 1808, when the danger was over, Sir George Barlow, the Governor General, passed an order discharging all Anglo-Indians from the Company's Regiments. (39)

6. The stereotyping of Anglo-Indians as turncoats

The Anglo-Indian community was beleaguered on all sides. The Indians who had rebelled in 1798 refused to trust the Anglo-Indians. They saw the Anglo-Indians as having deserted them in 1798. The previous point indicated, the Anglo-Indian community had little choice in the matter. The Indians' perception was of a community which was loyal to the father's side, rather than to the mother's side. The distrust towards the Anglo-Indians is still evident in Indian society today.

7. Single-parent families, orphans and the impoverishment of the Anglo-Indian community

The Anglo-Indians had also suffered casualties, and many children were left without their fathers. Yet provision for orphans remained largely at inadequate pre-war levels. This was the beginning of the gradual increase in poverty in the community. (40) By the end of the eighteenth century poverty was widespread in the community.

The Anglo-Indians were referred to as turncoats and were reduced to penury by these repressive policies. They lost their lives to create an empire for the Company. They left one-parent families who had to be supported by the military and the missionaries. The words charity school, benevolent institution and orphanages crept into the Anglo-Indian consciousness.

By 1810, Kiernander's Mission school and the Calcutta Free School were merged. Carey and Marshman found it necessary to establish The Benevolent Institution to educate poor, orphaned Anglo-Indian children. (41) The education, income and family structure of the community were being rooted out by these repressive policies.

5. Conclusions

This chapter started by examining the creation of the Anglo-Indian community in the fifteenth century. Anglo-Indians are a "mixed community" - with European blood on the paternal side and Indian women of many diverse cultures on the maternal side.

The present day Anglo-Indian schools owe their existence to the European fathers needing a family life in India supported by Christian religious practices and traditions. Thus, Christianity was thrust on the Anglo-Indian community.

The earliest Anglo-Indian missionary schools were also an accidental by-product of the expansionist policies of the European traders and the spiritual ambitions of European missionaries.

The impact of colonialism and the missionary schools on the Anglo-Indian community was analyzed. The argument was made

that the Anglo-Indians were being educated to support the expansionist policies of the colonialists in India. As the East India Company's hegemony spread, English replaced other European languages as a medium of instruction in the schools.

The chapter argues that the East India Company's commercial requirements of educated Anglo-Indian clerks, caused the Anglo-Indian community to develop a subordinate class consciousness within a culturally loaded curriculum. This was firmly planted by the seventeenth century missionaries.

The chapter offered an analysis of the dynamics of Anglo-Indian education in the late eighteenth century. This revealed a correspondence between the East India Company's economic and military expansionist policy and the conflict-ridden course of the educational structure of Anglo-Indian education. By the late eighteenth century, the words charity school and orphanages began to appear in Anglo-Indian education.

The impoverishment of the community in terms of loss of jobs and status started in the eighteenth century. The repression of educational access to selective higher education laid the foundation for the subordinate positions Anglo-Indians would occupy in British India during the next two centuries.

This chapter also argues that the arrival of upper-class Englishmen, and Englishwomen seeking husbands, created a social environment which encouraged racism. Hitherto, it was socially acceptable for Englishmen to marry or keep Indian women and their children without stigma.

As the East India Company discharged Anglo-Indians from its service, they were forced to seek employment with Indian Rajahs and Rulers. Yet, when the Company warred with these

Rulers, Anglo-Indians under pain of death, were forced to re-join the Company's army and turn their swords and rifles against Indians. This chapter therefore argues that the Company's policy created the stereotype of Anglo-Indian turncoats in the eighteenth century.

The policies exhibit in the history of Anglo-Indian education the discrepancy between the rhetoric of the Christian missionaries and the reality of the Company's military power in colonial India. In order to extend the frontiers of English Imperialism, the frontiers of education had to be extended. English educated Anglo-Indians in a subordinate level were needed by the colonialists.

The 1780s proved a watershed. Charity, orphans and poor were words used to describe Anglo-Indians by the end of the eighteenth century. Orphans had to subsist on the "benevolence" of the East India Company; whereas, the rich and influential non Anglo-Indians were being offered school programmes, where scholastic achievement would guarantee a well-placed career.

This chapter argued that before 1786, Anglo-Indians experienced little discrimination. After 1786, their fortunes dramatically changed for the worse.

The necessary resources were made available for educating other groups of Indians because the desire for power and prestige under the English was a powerful motivation. Unequal opportunities in education and acquiring skills quickly disappeared for the Anglo-Indians.

The only educational policy the East India Company had in the late eighteenth century was to develop education for the privileged few; who would be competent administrators in the service of the Company. Educational credentials

which they lacked and being members of a mixed-race reflected the uneven development of the Anglo-Indian community in the eighteenth century.

This chapter explored the progress and development of Anglo-Indian Education until the repressive policies of the late eighteenth century. At that time, the Anglo-Indian community was becoming aware of its own identity as a minority community. The adverse conditions brought out all the determination in the community to stand up and be counted. The harsh repression and severe penalties for disloyalty, coalesced the community, and made the community aware of its size and ethnicity.

The salient characteristics of disadvantage appeared at the end of the eighteenth century. The ethnicity which is linked to the size of the community accounted for the harsh repressive educational policies towards the Anglo-Indians. Under these conditions social changes took place which were responsible for creating the stereotype of the landless, ill-educated Anglo-Indian turncoat.

By the end of the eighteenth century a pattern of social relationships shaped the lives of Anglo-Indians. Inequality, repression, and forms of domination substantially altered the socio-economic system in the community. Even with accepting a vision of themselves as a community, the reproduction of a subordinate consciousness entered their assessment of themselves as a community.

The chapter argued that the repressive policies transformed the community. The policies established a negative pattern of class relationships, power and privilege between Anglo-Indians, the Indians and the English by the end of the eighteenth century.

The social relationships of economic life was replicated in the educational system. By the end of the eighteenth century Anglo-Indian children were educated in charity schools, orphanages and benevolent institutions run by the military and Christian missionaries.

The extent to which the Anglo-Indian educational system accomplished the collective vision of the Europeans for the Anglo-Indian community is discussed in the next chapter. It describes education during the nineteenth century from 1786 to 1900. The chapter shows the reinforcement of a subordinate consciousness in the Anglo-Indian community.

It discusses the three issues of size and ethnicity, the English language and Christianity. The chapter outlines the impact these three issues had on the educational and economic life of the community in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER TWO

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW 4th Series Vol.XXXV January p.88. During the sixteenth century, the relationship between power and authority was not based on democratic consent or participation. So, modern day concepts of economic and social justice were irrelevant to the expansionist policies of the Europeans in India. The European need for Anglo-Indian education was initially for commercial purposes only.

(2) Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) Hostages to India, Or The Life-Story of the Anglo-Indian Race Calcutta: Star Printing Works (p.1) A facsimile reprint was published privately through the agency of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) in 1987 London, Putney.

(3) CALCUTTA REVIEW (1846) 'The Portuguese in North India' Volume V and (1871) 'The Feringhees of Chittagong' Volume V; see also, Danvers, F.C. The Portuguese in India 2 Volumes. London: W.H.Allen & Co; see also, Whiteway, R.S. (1967) The Rise of Portuguese Power in India: 1497-1550 Second Edition London: Susil Gupta

(4) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.9-10); see also, Danver, F.C. (1966) (First Edition 1894) The Portuguese in India Being a History of the Rise and Decline of Their Eastern Empire New York: Octagon Books Vol.I (p.217); see also, Whiteway, R.S. (1967) op. cit., (p.177)

(5) Hoebel, A.E. and Weaver, T. (1979) Anthropology and Human Experience (Fifth Edition) New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., (p.651); see also, Moreno, H.W. (1923) Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins: Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission Volume V January (pp.76-82). See also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (pp.40-1)

(6) Goodrich, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation University of California. Berkelyy, California: Microfilm. (p.128)

(7) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (pp.9-13); see also, Spear, P. (1963) The Nabobs London: Oxford University Press (p.62); see also, Stark, H. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (pp.6-7)

(8) Hedin, E.L.(1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 40 September pp.165-79 (p.167)

(9) Kincaid, D. (1973) British Social Life in India, 1608-1937 London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.324); Anglo-India had been described as "two widely-separated classes - the officials and the mercantile community -" (p.15) This description eliminated the "mixed community" of Anglo-Indians. The term community refers to the Anglo-Indian who shared a common identity, cultural criteria and group consciousness that separated them from the European colonialists and the Indians. Thus, the term Anglo-Indian had included the British. See also, Moreno, H.W. (1923) op. cit., (p.789). The term Anglo-Indian was first described in 1826. British settlers in India had been called Domiciled Europeans and/or Anglo-Indians. See also, Abel, E. op. cit., (pp.5-6)

In the 1911 census schedule, Lord Hardinge, the Viceroy of India accepted the term Anglo-Indian as the official nomenclature of the Anglo-Indian Community. The designation of "Anglo-Indian" had been taken from the British by an Act of Parliament. This designation was requested by the Anglo-Indian community, and was accepted by Lord Hardinge. See, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.5); see also, Stark, H.A. (1934) John Ricketts and his Times Calcutta: Wilson & Son Printers. Thus, a confusion arose between British settlers who called themselves Domiciled Europeans or Anglo-Indians and the mixed race community who were descendants of European fathers and Indian mothers. By 1990, the term Anglo-Indian was still being debated in India. Chapter 6 will describe the field study which investigated the size of the Anglo-Indian community, or "Who is an Anglo-Indian?"

(10) Chaudhuri, N.C. (1966) The Continent of Circe New York: Oxford University Press (p.258); see also, Goodrich, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California. Berkeley, California: Microfilm. (pp.155-56); see also, Malelu, S.J. (1964) The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality Unpublished Ph.D. Diss. Ohio State University Microfilms. (p.78); see also, Mayhew, A. (1926) The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India 1835-1920, and of its bearing on National Life and Problems in India Today. London: Faber and Gwyer (p.42)

(11) Gray, A. (1888) Voyage of Francois Pyard of Laval to the East Indies Two Volumes. London: Hakluyt Society There are historical references to the Anglo-Indian community in the accounts of travellers to India during the sixteenth and seventeenth century. See also, Burnell, A.C. and Tille, P.A. (1885) The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies (From the Old English

Edition of 1598) London: Hakluyt Society Vol. I (p.183); see also, Crooke, W. (1925) Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernier Translated from the French edition of 1676 by V. Ball. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

See also, Andrews, C.F. (1939) The True India: A Plea for Understanding London: George Allen & Unwin (p.218); see also, Fitzroy, Y. (1926) Courts and Camps in India: Impressions of Viceregal tours 1921-24 London: Methuen & Co. (pp.16-7); see also, McLeod, R.D. (1938) Impressions of an Indian Civil Servant London: H.F. and G. Wetherby (pp.220-23); see also, Rhodes, C. 'The Anglo-Indians' IN: J.Cumming (ed.) Political India: 1832-1932 Oxford: Oxford University Press Chapter IV; see also, Smith, V.A. (1919) Indian Constitutional Reform London: Humphrey Milford (pp.72-3 and pp.104-5).

See also, Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (p.9); see also, Campos, J.J.A..(1919) A History of the Portuguese in Bengal Calcutta: Butterworth & Co. (pp.179-182); see also, Compton, H. (1892) A Particular Account of European Military Adventurers in Hindustan London: T. Fisher Unwin (p.13); see also, Foster, W. (1919) A Guide to the India Office Records: 1600-1858 London: India House (p.10); see also, Graham, J.A. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child' JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November 23 1934 (p.23); see also, Grey C. and Garrett, H.L.O. (1929) European Adventurers of Northern India: 1785-1894 Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing. (p.13); see also, Keene, H.G. (1880) 'Indian Military Adventurers of the Last Century' CALCUTTA REVIEW 71 (pp.55-85); see also, Moreno,H.W.B. (1913) 'The Armenians in Bengal' CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES October (p.13); see also, Nehru, J. (1960) The Discovery of India (Edited by R.I.Crane) New York: Anchor Books (p.141); see also, Risley, H.H. (1908) The People of India Second Edition. Calcutta; see also, Royle, T. (1989) The Last Days of the Raj London: Michael Joseph Ltd. For a discussion about mixed races see, Sarkar, S.S. (1943) and Sarkar, S.S. et. al., (1953).

Accounts of marginality and mixed races can also be found in Schermerhorn, R.A. (1949) (1961) and (1973). This topic of mixed races was also discussed by Spate, O.H.K. (1963) and Sweeney, K. (1989); see also, Smith, V.A. (1923) The Oxford History of India Oxford: Clarendon Press (p.335); see also, Thurston, E. (1898) 'Eurasians of Madras City and Malabar' BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM Vol.II pp.94-6; see also, Yeats Brown, F. (1942) Pageant of India Philadelphia: Macrea-Smith Company. (pp.140-8)

(12) Gist, N.P. and Wright, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity London: E.J.Brill (pp.1-2); see also, Greval, S.D.S. and Chandra, S.N. (1940) 'Blood Groups of Communities in Calcutta' INDIAN JOURNAL OF MEDICAL RESEARCH

Vol. 27 No. 4 who also discussed marginality; see also, Hedin, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY XI September (p.165); see also, Mahalanobis, P.C.(1922) Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta, Part I, Analysis of Male Stature REC.IND. MUS XXXIII Mahalanobis also wrote an analysis of race-mixture in Bengal (1929); see also, Mahalanobis, P.C. (1931) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta, Part II Analysis of Anglo-Indian Head Length' REC. IND. MUS. XXIII; see also Mahalanobis, P.C. (1940) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta, Part II Analysis of Seven Characters' REC. IND. MUS. ; see also, Sarkar,S.S. (1943) 'Analysis of Indian Blood Group Data with special reference to the Oraons' TRANS. BOSE RES. INST. XV Calcutta; see also, Sarkar,S.S; Das, B.M. and Agarwal,K.K. (1953) 'The Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' MAN IN INDIA Vol.33 April-June pp.93-102

(13) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications; see also, Penny, F. (1904) The Church in Madras London: Smith Elder & Co. (p.107)

(14) Gidney, H. (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.XXI pp.657-662. In 1925, Gidney, H. a leader of the Anglo-Indian community wrote, that

> ... the cumulative effect of long years of subordination had so demoralized the Anglo-Indian, as to have robbed him of almost all self-assertion, initiative and vision, so that the moment and the opportunity slipped by beyond recall. (p. 660)

(15) Andrews, C.F. (1939) The True India: A Plea for Understanding London; George Allen & Unwin (p.218); see also, Campos, J.J.A. (1919) op. cit., See also, Fitzroy, Y. (1926) Courts and Camps in India: Impressions of Viceregal Tours 1921-24 London: Metheun & Co. (pp.16-7); see also, Law, N.N. (1915) Promotion of Learning in India by European Settlers up to 1800 A.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. (p.10); see also, Mathew, A. (1988) Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise 1870-1930 New Delhi: Anamika Prakashan p.45; see also, McLeod, R.D. (1938) Impressions of an Indian Civil Servant London: H.F. and G. Wetherby (pp.220-23); see also, Rhodes,C. (1932) The Anglo-Indians IN: J. Cumming (ed.) Political India: 1832-1932 Oxford: Oxford University Press Chapter IV; see also, Smith, V.A. (1919) Indian Constitutional Reform London: Humphrey Milford (pp.72-3)

(16) Sinha, S.P. English in India: A Historical Study with particular reference to English Education in India Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan. Christianity was encouraged

along "with English literature and European science". (p.50)

(17) Mathew, A. (1988) Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise 1870-1930 New Delhi: Anamika Prakashan; see also, Marshman, J.C. (1859) The Life and Times of Carey Marshman and Ward Roberts Vols. I and II. London: Longmans, Brow, Green, Longmans and Roberts Marshman's book describes the missionary activities of the Baptists in Serampore Mission.

(18) Fernandes, B.A. (1927) Bandra: Its Religious and Secular History Bombay: Sparkler Fine Art Press (pp.10-13); see also, CALCUTTA REVIEW (1846) The Portuguese in North India Vol.V; see also, CALCUTTA REVIEW (1871) The Feringhees of Chittagong Vol.V; see also, Danvers, F.C. (1894) The Portuguese in India Two Volumes London: W.H. Allen & Co; see also, Hutton, J.H. (1946) Caste in India Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (pp.149-50); see also, Stark, H.A. (1936) op. cit., (pp.6-7); see also, Thurston, E. and Rangachari, K. (1909) Vol.II (pp.235-6); see also, Whiteway, R.S. (1967) The Rise of Portuguese Power in India: 1497-1550 2nd Edition London: Gupta. See, Encyclopedia Britannica, (1974) p.393; see also, Rawat, P.L. (1965) History of Indian Education Fourth Edition Agra, India: Ram Prasad & Sons pp. 170-1.

The Anglo-Indians were educated in French and many Anglo-Indians were multilingual in English, French and Tamil in the twentieth century. See, Srivastava,B.D. (1963) The Development of Modern Indian Education Bombay: Orient Longman (p.28) See, Spear, P. (1963) The Nabobs London: Oxford University Press (p.62); see also, Srivastava, (1963) op. cit., (p.28).

In 1715, the Danish missionaries taught the Portuguese children, in Madras. There was some intermarriage between the Danes, Germans and Flemish missionaries and the Indians. See, Law, N.N. (1915) op. cit., (pp.6-7); see also, Moreno, H.W.B.(1913) The Armenians in Bengal CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES October (pp.430-36); see also, Srivastava, B.D. (1963) op. cit., (p.29).

The Indian Christian communities who attended the Anglo-Indian school in Bandra were the East Indians and the Goans. These two Indian Christian communities took part in the field study. The book by Fernandes, B.A. (1927) op. cit., offers an interesting account of the East Indian community who are Indian Christians. The Goans who attended the school were also Indian Christians. For an interesting analysis of the Goan community see Mascarenhas-Keyes, S. (1979) Goans in London: Portrait of a Catholic Asian Community U.K.: The Goan Association. For further reading about education during the British Raj, see, Mayhew, A. (1926) The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India 1835-1920, and of its

bearing on National Life and Problems in India Today London: Faber and Gwyer p.39; see also, Tindall, G. (1982) City of Gold: The Biography of Bombay London: Temple Smith.

(19) Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (p.11).

(20) Sharp, W.H. (1920) op. cit., (p.3); see also, Tindall, G. (1982) op. cit., (p.59)

(21) Fryer, J. (1698) A New Account of East India and Persia London: R. Chiswell; see also, Rawlinson, H.G. (1921) Life in an English Factory in India in the 17th Century INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION Vol.III pp.24-35

(22) Love, H.D. (1913) Vestiges of Old Madras London: John Murray Vol.I (p.499)

(23) Penny, F. (1904) The Church in Madras London: Smith Elder & Co. (p.507)

(24) Chatterjee, E. (1982) op. cit., (p.77); see also, Law, N.N. (1915) (pp.12-15); see also, Penny, F. (1904) op. cit., (pp.123-67)

(25) Sharp, W.H. (1920) Selections from Educational Records Part I (1781-1839 Calcutta. (pp.7-8). Warren Hastings established the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781. To support the Madrassah, the Directors of the Company allotted land which yielded an annual income of Rupees twenty nine thousand to the Madrassah, the children were given free education, boarding and lodging.

(26) Sharp, W.H. (1920) ibid., (pp.7-8). An additional grant of Rupees thirty thousand per annum was assigned to the Madrassah in lieu of the land.

(27) Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (p.92)

(28) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (pp.14-15)

(29) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.55)

(30) Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. (p.52). Daniell, H.R.H. was an Anglo-Indian. His Thesis was unavailable on an inter-library loan. Brotherton Library had only one copy of the Thesis. The researcher had to travel to Leeds to read the Thesis.

(31) Hughes, E.C. and MacGill Hughes, H. (1952) Where Peoples Meet Glencoe Illinois: The Free Press (pp.32-50, 61-82, 83-99)

(32) DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op. cit., (p.60); see also, Fox, J. (1811) A Comparative view of the Plans of Education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, and Remarks on Dr. Bell's Madras School THE QUARTERLY REVIEW October (p.266); see also, Kopf, D. (1969) British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (p.21)

(33) Hedin, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 40 September. pp.165-79 (p.167); see also, Allen, C. (1977) Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947 London: Andre Deutsch Ltd. Allen's Chapter "The Memsahib: The Englishwoman in India" described the racist attitude of Englishwomen towards Indians,

> ... what remains therefore but race prejudice to account for the fatuity fearing lest the milk of a native woman (for breast feeding) should contaminate an English character? (p.81)

(34) CALCUTTA REVIEW (1867) The Bengal Military Orphan Society (p.57)

(35) Anthony, (1969) op. cit., (pp.30-3); see also, Chatterjee, E. (1982) op. cit., (p.26); see also, Fraser, J.B. (1851) Military Memoir of Lt./Col. James Skinner Vols. I and II London: Smith Elder & Co; see also, Holman, D. (1961) Sikander Sahib London: Heinemann; see also, Pearse, H. (1905) The Hearseys: Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons; see also, Kincaid, D. (1974) British Social Life in India, 1608-1937 Newton Abbot: Readers Union Group of Book Clubs. This book offers descriptions of the petty snobbery and the "nothing short of shameful" attitude the British had for the Anglo-Indians. (p.x) It describes the Anglo-Indian community's involvement in the Indian Mutiny (p.211), the glories of being a Civil Servant, although there was room for only a few at the time (p.167), and the Bishop Cotton schools which were run

> ... on English lines, so that it was hardly necessary to send one's children home for their education. (p.251).

(36) Valentia, G. (1809) Voyages and Travels in Ceylon, The Red Sea Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806 3 Volumes. London: William Miller (pp.241-42). See also, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.17)

(37) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.17)

(38) Blunt, E. (1937) The I.C.S.: The Indian Civil Service London: Faber and Faber Chapters I and II; see also, O'Malley, L.S.S. (1965) The Indian Civil Service 1801-1830 London: Frank Cass & Co. (pp.228-30). Both these books

offer an excellent account of the lives of Indian Civil Servants and the prestige and power which they had during the British Raj. It also offers an opportunity to read about the types of jobs which eluded the Anglo-Indian community.

(39) Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) op. cit., (pp.6-11)

(40) Thurston, E. (1898) op. cit., (pp.76-7); see also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1913) The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol.I April pp.110-132; see also, Macrae, J. (1913) The Problem for Charity Among the Anglo-Indian Community CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol.I January pp.84-94 and July pp.351-392.

(41) Marshman, J.C. (1859) The Life and Times of Carey Marshman and Ward Roberts Two Vols. London: Longmans,

CHAPTER 3

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN IDENTIFIABLE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM 1786-1900

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss that:

- the missionaries' evangelical policies for independent schools and colleges in relation to the Anglo-Indian community;
- the growing importance and significance of the English language in British India and,
- the broader historical events within India during the nineteenth century that impacted upon the Anglo-Indian community and its educational institutions.

These issues shaped the destiny and future of the Anglo-Indian community. The education provided for the Anglo-Indian community continued the processes that were discussed in the previous chapter.

This chapter argues that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the educational system created a facade of privilege for the Anglo-Indian community. The colonialists sought stability through a subservient, loyal Anglo-Indian community.

The structure of the chapter is therefore as follows:

(i) Anglo-Indian education before 1857: The community fights back

(ii) The second half of the century: Anglo-Indian education in decline

(iii) Conclusions.

2. Anglo-Indian Education before 1857: The Community fights back

In 1792 Charles Grant, an opponent of the Wilberforce circle, wrote his treatise, "Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain, particularly with respect to morals and on the means of Improving it". Christian Imperialism sought to remedy Grant's racially discriminatory document. In 1793, the reformer Wilberforce stated in the House of Commons that it would be

> ... the peculiar and bounden duty of the British legislature to promote ... the interests and happiness of the inhabitants of the British Dominions in India. (1)

This approach was rejected and the attempt to insert a clause into the Company's Charter to support the cause of missionary education in India suffered a major setback. Wilberforce saw education as a major instrument in promoting the development of the individual, and during the eighteenth century, the educational and evangelisation process in India was seen both as an end in itself as well as paralleling educational developments in Britain. (2)

This was because the period 1790-1820 had seen developments in the education of the poor in England. The Industrial Revolution had started, and the suffering of the poor was blamed on lack of education and consequent character building, rather than on unregulated capitalistic economic expansion.

The Indians were compared to the poor in England: since

education was being given to the poor in England, it was right and proper to educate the Indians. The churches always educated the poor in England, and hence it was necessary to encourage the missionaries to educate the Indians. Thus, between 1780 and 1830 numerous schools were started by missionaries and private individuals to help, amongst others, the Anglo-Indian community. (3)

The Educational Missions started by Alexander Duff (1806-1878) of the Free Church of Scotland, taught the English language to Anglo-Indians and other Indians. The Missions also imparted the ideology and values which became an important instrument of evangelism. Although English and Christianity were already inextricably linked in Anglo-Indian education, this educational expansion, supported by the East India Company, only led to the possibility of an educated Indian elite (but not Anglo-Indian). The Anglo-Indians were still struggling to survive after the repressive policies of 1786. (4)

The balance seemed about right this time to the British. Indians were given the opportunity to pursue education and advance their own studies of Hindi and Urdu. The Anglo-Indians received the support of the missionaries who supported their lower status English based education. As a result, the East India Company could look forward to well-educated Indian administrators in India, supported by Anglo-Indian subordinates.

It was during this period that Anglo-Indians became more aware of a group consciousness. It became apparent to the community, that the British Government's educational policies were being directed towards educating the Indians in English as well, because in 1823, the General Committee of Public Instruction attached English classes to the College at Agra and the Calcutta Madrassah. Shortly after, at Delhi and Benares, district English schools were also

established.

The Anglo-Indians were Anglicists, supporting Western knowledge and English. (5) The controversy between those who supported Hindu and Muslim learning and those who supported Western knowledge and English arose and the controversy dominated the educational scene between 1833 and 1840. (6)

The next section describes the missionary inputs which were subject to the more relaxed policies of the British. The section presents a comparison of the specific effect of the missionary schooling input on achievement for Indian students and Anglo-Indian students.

2.1. The rise of Indian education and the decline of Anglo-Indian education.

In 1833, the Charter Act was passed, marking a new departure in missionary education in India. This Act officially encouraged the Christian missionaries from Europe and America to build schools and spread Christianity. The focal point of their work was in the Madras Presidency. The missionaries felt confident that English education would prove to be an effective instrument for conversion to Christianity. (7)

Between 1837 and 1852 Christian Colleges were started by missionaries all over British India. Most of these, to all intents and purposes, were institutions for Anglo-Indian students. Indians were also taught English in these schools, and there grew a thirst for western knowledge among the Indians. (8)

The Indians saw this educational encounter as the inevitability of progress towards understanding western

culture. Much of the Indian encounter with education was automatically equated with qualifications-earning and professional careers. It did not appear to be ritualistic, tedious, suffused with boredom or destructive of curiosity and imagination. The English language was the means to acquire powerful positions in the professions of law, medicine and education. The Indians were disinterested in Christianity.

Through this enhanced and increased educational encounter with Christian missionaries, Anglo-Indians were further induced to accept the culture, traditions and beliefs of the colonialists, who owned and controlled the wealth in India. The encounter with a transplanted education in the classrooms of Anglo-Indian schools and the domination of the Anglo-Indians by the few Europeans continued the culture of subservience.

The classroom conditioning was unequal, non-participatory and undemocratic and was not conducive to social and economic equality in the nineteenth century. Missionaries preached a doctrine which supported personal development - be it spiritual, physical or cognitive - but the Anglo-Indians had no capacity to control the conditions of their lives.

The increase in missionary educational activity, and the effect that this was having on the Anglo-Indian community did not go unnoticed. The Anglo-Indian community itself started to take an active interest in the education of its young people.

The next section describes the group consciousness that developed in the Anglo-Indian community in the early part of the nineteenth century, partly as a response to this domination. Anglo-Indians were becoming aware of the importance of education in the community and the next

section explains the importance of Ricketts and Derozio who were pioneers in creating a group consciousness within the Anglo-Indian community.

2.2. The Anglo-Indian community's educational initiative: John Ricketts, James Kyd and Henry Louis Derozio

Caught between the cultures of the East and the West, the Anglo-Indians in 1823 became more acutely aware of their marginalisation in the politics of colonial education. The uncertainty was psychological because the Anglo-Indians had been repressed by the British and were distrusted by the Indians. They were caught between the cultures of India and Europe. Both these cultures were hostile towards the community. This created a realization and understanding of the nature, diversity and size of their community in the early part of the eighteenth century.

The Anglo-Indians had learnt one lesson from the repressive orders of 1786 and were slowly forming a cohesive unit, with a strategy of self-help. As a result, organizations and associations were started in the nineteenth century by the Anglo-Indians to care for the educational needs of the community. (9)

In 1823, the Anglo-Indians, under the leadership of John Ricketts, started the Parental Academic Institution for three reasons. Firstly, since 1786, as was mentioned in the last chapter, Anglo-Indians had not been allowed to be educated in England. (10) Secondly, the British Government did not fund the Parental Academy and the Calcutta Grammar schools for the Anglo-Indians, although the British Government funded schools for Indians. Thirdly, the idea for this educational initiative was to form an Anglo-Indian educational society. (11)

The Parental Academic Institution started by the Anglo-Indians was the most progressive school in Calcutta. The curriculum included Scripture, English Literature, English Grammar, Indian Vernacular, Geography, Roman, Greek, English and Indian History, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Latin, Mathematics and political Economy. (12)

Another entrepreneurial Anglo-Indian was James Kyd who was a shipbuilder. (13) He saw the benefits of introducing technical and vocational skills to young Anglo-Indians. (14) In 1825, he and other Anglo-Indians formed the East Indian Club. This was a name by which the Anglo-Indian community was also known in the nineteenth century. In 1827, The Calcutta Apprenticing Society was formed by other Anglo-Indians and in 1828, The Commercial and Patriotic Association was also established, to encourage industry, trade and agriculture. (15)

In 1828, Henry Derozio formed the Academic Association. He was a charismatic intellectual, who was appointed at the age of nineteen years as a Lecturer in English history and literature at the Calcutta Hindu College. He died of cholera when he was twenty three years old, and the community lost an educationist who had leadership potential. (16)

All this activity reached a peak in 1829, when Ricketts led a deputation to England and placed a petition before the British Parliament. The petition marked a significant change in the Anglo-Indian community's attitude to the British. Their grievances became public knowledge.

With the community's growing awareness of their size, educational potential and political will, a leader emerged, whose humanitarian work for the community was outstanding. John Ricketts stands out as a great leader among Anglo-Indians, because he stood up for the rights of a

repressed minority community, and did not hesitate to champion their cause.

The Ricketts's Petition of 1829 was a landmark for the community's growing awareness of their position in India. The Petition expressed the community's dissatisfaction with the treatment received by the community at the hands of the English. The Petition was important because it encapsulated the frustration and emerging political will of the community.

The Ricketts's Petition dealt with the laws which did not treat Anglo-Indians with equality; for example, there was no law to regulate their marriages and make them lawful, or to define legitimacy or illegitimacy of children, or a law to protect the succession of Anglo-Indian property. The Ricketts' Petition outlined the discrimination and contrariety of laws for Anglo-Indians and stands as a major document in the development of the Anglo-Indian community. (17)

Although, John Ricketts did pioneering work to raise the political consciousness of the community, his work was not carried further by the community. The community lacked the political foresight to create their own ethnic identity.

A similar parallel still exists in the community. It is still unwilling to forge a solidarity and lacks a charismatic leader who will raise the political consciousness of the community. In 1829 the community was seeking an identity with the British colonialists. By 1990, the community was still seeking an identity in India.

Since 1786, when Anglo-Indians were not allowed to be educated in England, the stereotype of the poor Anglo-Indian, who had no educational ambitions or property rights and whose ancestry was shrouded in doubt, was being

laid. The foundations for this "Great Divide" between the English and the Indians reinforced the inequality which existed in the community's social relationships. The poverty in the community was apparent, and the repressive laws against the community were made explicit and evident in the Petition of 1829. (18)

It is important to understand the humiliation of marriages being "outside" the law. Family stability was threatened in the failure to establish legitimacy or illegitimacy of children. The gradual impoverishment of the community grew, because succession to property was also "outside" the law. The community was disadvantaged. The combination of the repressive laws against the community being educated in England and the inadequate provision in India, created a foundation for subordinacy.

In 1835, Captain John Doveton's will endowed the Parental Academy with £50,000. Doveton was an Anglo-Indian who had worked in the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army. £27,000 was spent on the Academy, which was renamed Doveton College and affiliated to Calcutta University, and in 1855 Doveton College in Madras was established with £23,000. (19)

The growth in the Anglo-Indian communities self awareness and self confidence was noted elsewhere. In 1835, Lord Macaulay's advice to the Governor General, Lord Bentinck, was published. It is a key document in the history of Anglo-Indian (and Indian) education.

2.3. Lord Macaulay's Minute (1835)

Lord Macaulay as the Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, submitted his famous Minute in February, 1835. He promoted the value of learning English, and was not in favour of studying Sanskrit and Arabic. Macaulay

stated:

> In India, English is the language spoken by the ruling class. It is spoken by the higher class of natives at the seat of Government. It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. (20)

In March 1835, Lord William Bentinck accepted the Minute, and English became the official medium of instruction for all Indians in literature and the sciences. (21)

In 1835, the "Filtration" theory, derived from Macaulay's Minute, was introduced.

> Education was to permeate the masses from above. Drop by drop from the Himalayas of Indian life, useful information was to trickle downwards, forming in time a broad and stately stream to irrigate the thirsty plains. (22)

The "Filtration" theory created a division in India, between the educated and the uneducated. (23)

By 1870, the Anglo-Indians were not caught up in the Filtration Theory, because they were all educated in English. They valued their education in English because the British offered them subordinate jobs. The Indians were now being offered an English education. They were being encouraged to pursue higher education.

The Anglo-Indian was being offered vocational and technical skills, and the English educated Indian was being offered professional skills. This had an important causal relationship to income inequality and inter-generational status transmission. Anglo-Indians linked their vocational and technical skills to economic success indirectly via the Anglo-Indian educational system that strengthened rather

than weakened their subordinate status.

3. The second half of the century: Anglo-Indian education in decline

Wood's Education Despatch of July 1854 followed the House of Commons' Select Committee enquiry into educational developments in India. (24) This very long document stressed the importance of the use of English as a medium of instruction. The Despatch stressed the fact that the British had no intention of substituting English for an Indian languages. It summed up the controversy of the Anglicists and the Orientalists, and focused on the necessity of establishing Universities in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras and modelling them on the University of London, which was then an examining body.

The Despatch rejected the Downward Filtration Theory, the adoption of modern Indian languages as languages of instruction in the secondary schools, and the use of indigenous schools as the foundation of a national system of education. (25)

Anglo-Indian education qualified for the grants-in-aid prescribed in Wood's Education Despatch because they offered a good secular education, agreed to an annual inspection, had a fee system and possessed a suitable Board of Management. The building grants, special maintenance grants and grants-in-aid of boarding charges are still in existence today. (26)

All previous research has ignored the great disadvantage the Despatch gave to Anglo-Indian schools: they only enjoyed the grants-in-aid if they rejected instruction in a modern Indian language thus cutting off and isolating Anglo-Indians from mainstream Indian culture.

The rejection of instruction in a modern Indian language in 1854 reinforced the reliance the Anglo-Indians placed on learning English exclusively. Therefore, an important value was subtracted from Anglo-Indian education. This value alienated the Anglo-Indian community from the Indians. Thus, the Wood's Despatch had very great adverse implications for the community.

3.1. The British Government's Educational Policies during the latter half of the Nineteenth Century

Despite what seemed to be improvements in Anglo-Indian education, the Anglo-Indians were being socially and educationally isolated in India. Lord Lytton in 1880 recorded a Minute which

> ... deplored the condition of the community and warned against trying to avert this great political and social danger,

and stressed that measures for the

> ... education of destitute European and Eurasian children should be made, with particular reference to the means of existence available for such children in after life. (27)

The Hunter Commission (1882) was set up to look into this and recommended that Anglo-Indian schools be absorbed into the Code for European Education. This meant that:

(1) The Academic stream would be separated from the vocational and technical stream.

(2) Direct Departmental contact would not be withdrawn from missionary schools. (28)

There was little improvement. The negativism in Anglo-Indian education continued. The stereotypes of the "poor-must-be-dumb-or-lazy" theories of inequality were being applied to Anglo-Indians. The community was struggling in a culture of subservience. (29)

The Lawrence Report (1873) examined the state of Anglo-Indian schools. His Report on the "Existing Schools for Europeans and Eurasians" concluded that the Anglo-Indians were often left without any education. The Calcutta Government ordered an enquiry (1874); which reiterated Lawrence's findings. Anglo-Indians who lived at "out-stations" which were inaccessible or scantily populated had no schools to which they could send their children. (30)

Further evidence of disquiet is also found in the Baly Report (1879). The Report stated that out of 8,567 European and Eurasian children in Bengal, 4,037 (probably mainly Anglo-Indians) were not in school. The destitute children without schools would become vagrants and this would

> ... also reflect badly on British prestige and good name. (31)

By 1877, the community shared this concern. The Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association Reports, 1877, stated that the Lawrence Military Asylums which were founded by Sir Henry Lawrence did not fulfil the wishes of Sir Henry Lawrence. The sons of soldiers and the poor were not receiving an education to enable them to seek

> ... employment suited to their position in life. (32)

The Report of the Indian Education Commission (1883) clearly showed that there was no adequate higher secondary educational provision for Anglo-Indians, despite its being

provided for other (albeit very small) groups of Indians. Anglo-Indians were provided with elementary education, unless the student decided to go on and become a priest. (33) Further efforts to improve the system had little effect.

Perhaps, the best example of this was the introduction of the Bengal Code in 1883. (34) Lytton drew up the Bengal Code for European Schools (1883) and the Code was put into practice in 1885 in all the major provinces of British India, except Bombay and Madras, where the local governments had control of the education for Anglo-Indians.

The Code was based on the English and Scottish models, and the objective was the grants-in-aid system which was linked to a payment by results grant system. The system was modified in 1896, when the grant was paid annually upon the basis of attendance and the Inspector's general report. (35)

The problem which emerged very quickly was linked to the most important resource in a school, the teacher. In 1883, the prospects as a teacher were limited, and there were few if any training colleges for teachers. The status of Anglo-Indian schools could only be raised by

> ... raising the status of the teacher, but when teaching is resorted to in many cases as a mere make-shift, and is adhered to only as an unavoidable necessity, indifferent men as teachers, and indifferent results in the end must be the necessary consequence. (36)

The next section describes the Anglo-Indian community's attempt to group themselves in order to deal with the problems in their own community.

3.2. The European and Anglo-Indian Association in Bengal (1876)

In 1876, Chambers established the European and Anglo-Indian Association in Bengal. In 1879, D.S. White of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of South India emphasised to the community the necessity for union with the Indians. In 1885, the Indian National Congress was established. There were no Anglo-Indian members of the Indian National Congress. In 1898, J.R. Wallace founded the Imperial Anglo-Indian Association and C. Palmer founded the Anglo-Indian Empire League in 1908. (37)

Anglo-Indians were displaying a cohesiveness of community spirit by showing their concern for education. However, the proliferation of Associations duplicated the effort of the Anglo-Indians to put a case forward more forcefully, because there were so many groups. This is an issue that has continued to hinder progress in relation to the aspirations of the Anglo-Indian community, a point taken up later in the thesis. (38)

The main idea being pursued here is that this strategy weakened the cause; instead of one or at the most two Associations representing the community, there were too many groups. Each group had people manoeuvring for positions of power.

During the nineteenth century the community lived in designated "quarters" linked to jobs. The Institutes, Clubs and Gymkhanas belonging to the Railways, Customs, Public Works Department and the Post and Telegraph, all had their own committees. Each committee raised their respective points of view and the fragmented representation of the community served only to dilute its voice in political matters.

Ironically, the isolation and alienation of the community had started with the very cohesiveness they were trying to create. As a consequence, the Anglo-Indian educational system had etched the subordinate perspective deeply into the Anglo-Indian community. It was rare for Anglo-Indians to pursue professions in law and medicine.

The traditional explanation given by Anglo-Indians was that they were given opportunities to serve the British in important public services. Again, were this view correct, it would be difficult to argue in favour of Anglo-Indians who became frustrated with the Ibert Bill and joined the so-called "White Mutiny". (39)

It could be argued that, the Anglo-Indians should have investigated their own educational system to find out why there were no judges in the community. The prejudice and racism in the community towards educated Indians further isolated the community in British India.

Similarly, in 1896, the Rev. Stokes published a pamphlet entitled, "Remarks upon the prospects of the Higher Classes of Europeans and Eurasians (Anglo-Indians) in India", in which he observed that

> ...with the absence of any professional prospects in India and the boycotting of the Anglo-Indian in his native land, parents do not care to spend more on the sons' education than they can help. (40)

Lord Curzon's ambitions (1898-1905) for strengthening British power in India, exacerbated the issue of Nationalism and this issue of Nationalism demanded the Indianisation of the Education Department. This affected Anglo-Indian education, because the two issues which were involved in the Indianisation process of Education were:

(1) The adoption of Indian Languages as the medium of instruction.

(2) The teaching of history from a more objective point of view.

Curzon spurred the determination for National Education. It was the British who had created the Downward Filtration Theory, and by 1902 a class of articulate Indians, educated in the English language and Western ideology had come into existence. In 1907 by contrast, the Anglo-Indians were still struggling to achieve mass elementary education, and a comparison between 1902 and 1907 shows no appreciable gain in the numbers of Anglo-Indians attending school.

In 1902, there were thirty one thousand one hundred and twenty two children attending school. In 1907, this number had increased by eight children. In 1902, there were seven thousand children not attending school. There is no figure given for 1907 for children not attending school. (41)

Interestingly, these records support the argument that educational disadvantage existed in the community. The primary educational function of Anglo-Indian schools was not the production or selection of intellectual skills for Anglo-Indians. The primary function was not to prepare them for professional careers like the non Anglo-Indians. The primary function was to educate them for subordinate jobs in British India.

Primary education needed to be reformed from within by curriculum reform, examination reform and the improvement of teacher training. By 1900, the Anglo-Indian educational system grew more quickly at the top for non Anglo-Indians, than at the bottom of the educational ladder for Anglo-Indians.

4. Conclusions

This chapter explored the continuation of the disadvantage and inequality within the Anglo-Indian educational system. It described how the role of these schools developed a skilled labour force in India. Fundamental social change was not feasible, because the Anglo-Indians found it difficult to group themselves and create solidarity.

The chapter also described the Indian national educational system which was being organised to eradicate inequalities. Ironically, this created inequalities for the Anglo-Indian community. In 1854, Wood's Despatch laid the foundation for Anglo-Indian schools to reject the adoption of modern Indian languages. Anglo-Indian schools received grant-in-aid if they rejected instruction in a modern Indian language.

This classroom culture of what was, to all intents and purposes, one of colonial subservience, served the British well. Issues relating to language, religion and ethnicity in the Anglo-Indian classroom created a community whose economic ambitions and independent political aspirations were almost non-existent.

The history of repressive measures, first discussed in the previous chapter, continued until 1857. This led to a form of cultural and political subservience that was replicated and reinforced in the classrooms of Anglo-Indian schools.

When 1857 arrived, the Anglo-Indians had imbibed a British culture. This caused the response of loyalty, patriotism and allegiance to the British colonialists during what Indians call the First War of Independence, or what Anglo-Indians call the Anglo-Indian War or the Indian Mutiny.

There was no historical evidence of Anglo-Indians turning their rifles on the British and supporting what were, in effect, pro-Indian nationalists. As a reward for being on the British winning side, the Anglo-Indians were offered reserved subordinate positions in the British Government, thus, temporarily halting the decline in the community's fortunes.

However, as the analysis in this chapter demonstrated, an air of defeatist quietism entered the Anglo-Indian ghetto colonies. The expectation of subordinate reserved jobs in communications, law enforcement, revenue collection and transportation blunted the Anglo-Indian community's ambitions for higher education.

Nineteenth century philanthropy, laced with class and racial prejudice, laid the foundations for an inevitable lack of balance in the Anglo-Indian educational system. The consequences of which continued to materially affect Anglo-Indian education.

The chapter also described how English and Western knowledge led to attempts at reforming Indian society. Hindus came under the influence of English and a Westernised education. The Anglo-Indian Christians continued to be educated for subordinate positions.

The missionaries were unable to win large numbers of Indians to Christianity. On the one hand, Indians who attended the Anglo-Indian schools, were successful in creating opportunities for themselves by gaining access to higher education. On the other, Anglo-Indians struggled to survive and were caught in the vicious grip of a cycle of disadvantage.

It was through the working out of these processes that, the three issues of disadvantage mentioned earlier (c.f.

discussion above Ch.1. pp. 30-1) were established. The British imperialists demanded a literate and loyal work-force from the Anglo-Indian community via their education in English. (41) The missionaries were successful in establishing Christianity in the Anglo-Indian schools. (42) The Anglo-Indian community developed a class consciousness linked to their size and ethnicity which differentially tracked them into subordinate jobs. (43)

The chapter offered an explanation of the "Great Divide" within a culture of subordinate class consciousness in the Anglo-Indian community. The "Great Divide" effectively deprived, dispossessed and disinherited the Anglo-Indians in relation to selective education, the upper echelons of administration and professional careers. (44)

The chapter also explored the criticism that Indians were offered opportunities to educate themselves. (45) If the British offered them the jobs, it was because the Anglo-Indian's educational experience had fitted him for nothing else.

The schools churned out Anglo-Indians as petty functionaries in the large administrative machine of the British Raj. The roles of clerks and petty officials were offered to the Anglo-Indians, but the main prize of careers and professional jobs eluded the community.(45)

The argument is that, as a consequence, Anglo-Indians were neither destined nor aspired to the elitist positions in the British Government. They would need much more than Christianity and a knowledge of English if they could or wanted to step outside the "cycles of disadvantage" created by the schools. (46)

Higher education was therefore found to be unnecessary because parents who were unsuccessful parents inevitably

passed along some of their disadvantages to their children. (47) Anglo-Indian parents in skilled and semi-skilled jobs transmitted to their children indirectly rather than directly a certain cultural ethos. (48)

By the end of the nineteenth century, this cycle of stepping into one's father's shoes had a crippling effect on the ambitions of young men. Very few young men opted for higher education. Such limited access to higher education made the Anglo-Indians into the "other Indians" who lacked educational qualifications and had (if they were fortunate) subordinate jobs.

This chapter has also argued that, the "White Mutiny" against the Ibert Bill also lowered the reputation of Anglo-Indians among Indians. This reputation was already tarnished by the East India Company's policy of repression at the end of the eighteenth century. By the middle of the nineteenth century Anglo-Indians fought on the side of the English in the 1857 First War of Independence (Indian Mutiny) and were rewarded with subordinate jobs. The Indians viewed the community as turncoats and did not trust the community.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the Hindus and the Christian Anglo-Indians were poised as potential or actual

> ... antagonists. The degree of the inter-ethnic conflict can be explained only by the social history of the given relationships. (49)

These relationships were anything but cordial at the turn of the twentieth century. The community was isolated by the British because it was the policy of the British not to mix with the Anglo-Indians. The Indians could not countenance the Anglo-Indians as being Indians, because the

Anglo-Indians always demanded preferential treatment. The Anglo-Indians were victims of prejudice from the British and the Indians. (50)

The next chapter describes the events leading to the official definition of the Anglo-Indian which occurred in 1911, and the consequence this had for the community in establishing its own ethnicity/size. The size of the community has always been controversial, because of the wide variation between Anglo-Indians, who descend from European fathers and Indian mothers. Although the term Anglo-Indian was first defined in 1911, the community still has problems in defining **who** is an Anglo-Indian.

The next chapter also describes the other significant events of the twentieth century. In particular, it examines the chaos which erupted in the community in 1947 which marked Indian Independence, the struggle for survival, the emergence of large associations of Anglo-Indians, the acceptance of Hindi as the national language, and the increased poverty, unemployment and drop-outs in Anglo-Indian schools.

CHAPTER THREE

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Sharp, W. H. (ed.) (1920) Selections from Educational Records, Part I (1781-1838) Calcutta: The Superintendent of Publications.

(2) Mukherji, S.N. (1966) History of Education in India: Modern Period Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot.

(3) Chatterjee, E. P. (1982) Adaptation in a Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada: Microfilm. (p.30); see also, Gist, N.P. and Wright, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity London: E.J. Brill (p.96); see also, Goodrich, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley, California: Microfilm; see also, Stark, H.A. (1936) Hostages to India, Or the Life-Story of the Anglo-Indian Race Reprint (1987) Putney,London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (B.A.C.S.A.) (p.91).

(4) Mathew, A. (1988) Christian Mission, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise 1870-1930 New Delhi: Anamika Prakashan (p.41); see also, Nurullah, S. and Naik,J.P. (1951) A History of Education in India (During the British Period) Second Edition Bombay: Macmillan & Co. (p.87); see also, Sharp, W.H.(1920) op. cit., (p.22). Christianity was the religion of the British. It became the religion of the Anglo-Indians because the Indian woman who bore the European man's children was ostracised from her family. It is debatable whether the Anglo-Indians would have been Christians if the caste system did not have such rigid rules.

(5) Jha, H. (1985) Colonial Context of Higher Education in India: Patna University from 1917-1951 A Sociological Appraisal New Delhi: Usha. The Anglicist-Orientalist (Classicist) controversy in Bengal centred on language. The Anglicists favoured learning English and the Orientalists preferred to study Urdu and Sanskrit. This language controversy dominated education during the early part of the nineteenth century. The Anglicists looked to the support of Lord Macaulay and Lord Bentinck. Lord Macaulay an Anglicist was the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction and the Law Member of the Executive Council of the Government.

An interesting account of the Anglicist's beliefs is found in an Orientalist's diary. Prinsep's diary describes the core of the Anglicist's ambitions, which centred on the study of the English language. Prinsep wrote that

> ... a class of Anglo-Indians and the younger civil servants ... were mostly opposed to Government's assisting to give instruction in any kind of Eastern literature or science, the whole of which they declared to be immoral, profane or nonsensical. They especially attacked the Sanskrit mythology and in this they were aided of course by the missionaries, but the use of Persian in our courts and in the correspondence of the Governor-General was also an object of their antipathy. (p.130)

See also, De Caro, F.A. and Jordan, R.A. (1984) 'The Wrong Topi: Personal Narratives, Ritual and the Sun Helmet as a Symbol' WESTERN FOLKLORE 43, 4. pp.233-248; see also, Kopf, D. (1969) British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press (p.21)

The Orientalists were Warren Hastings, Sir William Jones the founder of the Bengal Asiatic Society (1784), Colebrook the Sanskrit scholar and Horace Hayman Wilson. These Englishmen admired Indian culture, and believed in the value of communication through a study of Indian languages. See also, Sharp, W.H. (1920) Selections from Educational Records Volume I Calcutta: Government Printing (pp.132-3 and pp.135-6)

(6) Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P.(1951) op. cit., (p.95)

(7) Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. (p.64)

(8) Rawat,P.L. (1965) History of Indian Education Fourth Edition Agra, India: Ram Prasad & Sons (p.222). John Anderson opened the Madras Christian College. In 1841 Noble College named after Robert Noble was opened at Masulipatam. In 1844, Stephen Hislop gave his name to a college in Nagpur. The Jesuits opened St. Joseph's College at Nagapatam in 1846, and Bishop French opened St. John's College at Agra in 1852. Duff in Calcutta and Wilson in Bombay were both establishing Christian Colleges.

(9) Gist, N.P. and Wright, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity Leiden: E.J. Brill (p.96); see also, Goodrich, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India Unpublished Dissertation Ph.D. Berkeley, California: University of California Microfilm; see also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) Hostages to India Or The Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race Calcutta: Star

Printing Works (p.91) Facsimile reprint (1987) was published privately through BACSA. Putney, London: The British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia

(10) See Chapter 2 for an analysis of the repressive policies against the Anglo-Indians which began in 1786. See also, Stark, H.A. (1936, 1987) op. cit., (pp.51-75)

(11) CALCUTTA REVIEW (1867) 'The Bengal Military Orphan Society' XLIV (p.294); see also, Gist, N. and Wright,R.D. (1973) op. cit., (p.34); see also, Goodrich, D.(1952) op. cit., (p.128); see also, Stark, H.A. (1936) op. cit., (p.91); see also, Stonequist, E.V. (1937) The Marginal Man: A Study in personality and Culture Conflict New York: Charles Scribner & Sons (p.8). Ricketts, J. was a visionary and the first Anglo-Indian who understood the dynamics of class relationships and made the connection between economics and education. He was an early Anglo-Indian liberal who viewed the rising power of the British in India with concern because the British were ignoring a community by dehumanizing the conditions under which they worked.

(12) Evidence on the Affairs of the East India Company No.14, 31 March 1830 10L T 1284 (p.79)

(13) The Kidderpore Docks in Calcutta were named after him. Kyd Street in Calcutta was also named after him.

(14) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (p.15, and p.26)

(15) Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) Adaptation in a Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada: Microfilm. (p.30); see also, Gist, N.P. and Wright, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity London: E.J.Brill (p.96); see also, Goodrich, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community in India Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, Berkeley, California: Microfilm

By the early nineteenth century, the Anglo-Indians became aware of themselves as a community. An attempt was made to make the community a cohesive unit. The community is a diverse one, and it is rare for Anglo-Indians from the north of India to resemble Anglo-Indians in the south of India. The European father would be different and the Indians from the south are different in culture and customs to the Indians from the north. The Anglo-Indians were also known as the East Indians. See Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (p.22)

(16) Abel, E. (1988) ibid., (pp.26-7); see also, Edwards, T. (1884) Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and

Journalist Calcutta. (p.32); see also, Stark, H. (1936) (Reprint 1987) op. cit., (pp.99-104). Stark quotes a poem by Derozio entitled, "The Enchantress of the Cave." The opening lines of the poem are:

> To lead them on to deeds of worth,
> And raise their glory yet on earth! (p.104)

(17) Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) op. cit., (pp.32-3); see also, Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. (p.65)

(18) The "Great Divide" (includes race, class and gender) hardly supports an optimistic pronouncement of an egalitarian social and educational system. See Craig, H.I. (1990) op. cit., (p.15);

THE "PLAINS" AND "HILL-STATION" SCHOOLS: THE GREAT DIVIDE

The hill-stations were situated:

- in the foothills of the Himalayas, at Murree, Simla, Mussoorie, Naini Tal, Darjeeling and Shillong.
- in the Nilgiri Hills in the south of India at Ootacamund (known as Ooty) and Kodaikanal.

The hill-stations were the holiday resorts, and attracted the wealthy Europeans, Anglo-Indians and Indians. See, Allen, C. (1977) Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877-1947 London: Andre Deutsch (pp.90-1). The schools were elitist and reflected the exclusive and isolationist social practices of the British in India. Dr. Graham built a "home" (school for 'destitutes and orphans') in Kalimpong, near Darjeeling. See, Graham, J.A. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child' JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November 23 1934 pp.21-46. In Ketti (Nilgiri hills) St. George's "homes" were built. See, Hammick, E.A. (1989) St. George's Homes - A Brief History 1914-1964 The Laidlaw Memorial School and Junior College Platinum Jubilee Brochure 1914-1989 pp.83-97.

THE GENDER DIVIDE; ANGLO-INDIAN WOMEN AND EDUCATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Miss Ashworth (See Graham, J.A. (1934) op. cit., p.43) described Anglo-Indian girls

> ... as a class, very apathetic, careless, and with a few outstanding exceptions, entirely lacking in ambition. ... The problem was how to overcome their apathy and idleness and inoculate them with some ambition and pride in their work. As teachers in the schools they were unsatisfactory.

See also, Byrne, E. (1978) Women and Education London: Tavistock; see also, Deem, R. (1978) Women and Schooling London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; see also, MacDonald, M. (1980) 'Socio-Cultural Reproduction and Women's Education' IN: R.Deem (ed) Schooling for Women's Work London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; see also, R. Deem (1981)

'Schooling and the Reproduction of Class and Gender Relations' IN: D. Spender et. al., Education and the State Volume II: Politics, Patriarchy and Practice London and Milton Keynes: The Falmer Press in Association with the Open University Press; see also, Stanworth, M. (1984) Gender and Schooling: A Study of sexual divisions in the classroom London: Hutchinson in association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective; see also, Friedan, B. (1986) and Stromquist, N. (1988). For further reading about Gender and Education see, De Beauvoir, S.(1987) The Second Sex Translated and Edited by H.M.Parshley Harmondsworth: Penguin; see also Ranke-Heinemann, U. (1990) Eunuchs for Heaven: The Catholic Church and Sexuality Translated by John Brownjohn, London: Andre Deutsch Ltd; see also, Wilson, M.B. (1929) The Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Race of India Bombay: The Examiner Press. See also, Coard, B. (1971) How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System London: New Beacon; see also, Guttman, J. (1984) 'The Relative Importance of ethnic origin and study characteristics in the formation of Teachers' evaluations' RESEARCH IN EDUCATION 31 (pp.1-10).

For an analysis of Gender and Education by Asian women about Asian women in developing countries read Jayawardena, K. (1986); Jayaweera, S. (1987) and Trivedi, P. (1984)

(19) CALCUTTA REVIEW (1867) op. cit., (p.294); see also, Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) op. cit., (p.64)

(20) Mukherji, S.N. (1966) History of Education in India: Modern Period Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot. (p. 90)

(21) Jha, H. (1985) Colonial Context of Higher Education in India Patna University from 1917-1951: A Sociological Appraisal New Delhi: Usha (p.137); see also, Chailley, J. (1910).

(22) Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (pp.207-17)

(23) Mayhew, A. (1926) The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Problems in India Today London: Faber and Gwyer (p.92)

(24) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.61). In 1854 a comprehensive declaration of educational policy by the British was set out in Wood's Despatch. This Despatch had an impact on English education. See also, Mukherjee, S.N. (1966) History of Education in India Baroda: Acharya Book Depot. Ambitious Indians availed themselves of higher education, but Anglo-Indians continued to work in navigation, the railways and post and telegraphs.

(25) Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (pp.204-9)

(26) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.68); see also, DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op. cit., (p.21)

(27) Nundy, A. (1900) The Eurasian Problem in India THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD Vol.9 Part 17-18 pp.56-73 (p.57)

(28) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.71)

(29) Nurullah, s. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (p.224)

(30) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.65)

(31) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.65)

(32) Report of the Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, (1877) (p.329)

(33) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.51) There were four different types of educational institutions. (1) Parochial schools which offered elementary education; (2) Orphanages which offered agricultural and industrial training apart from an elementary education; (3) Colleges of Higher Education which were run by the Jesuits; (4) And Seminaries for training for the priesthood.

(34) Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (p.225)

(35) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (pp.66-7); see also, Fourth Quinquennial Review (1944) (p.329) London: HMSO

(36) D'Cruz, L.W. (1887) The Education Code for European Schools in Bengal CALCUTTA REVIEW Vol. LXXXIV pp.381-91 (p.390).

(37) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.41)

(38) The size of the Anglo-Indian community will be discussed in Chapter 6.

(39) The Ibert Bill was introduced in the Legislative Council on 2 February, 1883. The purpose of the bill was to give jurisdiction to Indian judges over Europeans in criminal matters. The book provides easy reading because it does not deal with legal technicalities. The Anglo-Indian community (mixed-race) preferred to throw in their lot with the Europeans in a second mutiny. The 'white mutiny' created a lasting rift between Indians and Anglo-Indians. See also, McCully, B.T. (1966) English Education and the origins of Indian Nationalism Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith; see also, Cox, O.C. (1948) Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social dynamics Seventh Printing New York: Monthly Review Press (p.318)

This thesis interprets the Ibert Bill as providing further evidence that the Anglo-Indian community was not being

educated in English to gain access to elitist positions in the government. If, there were Anglo-Indian judges, then there would be no necessity for the Anglo-Indians to revolt against the Ibert Bill. The revolt reflected the frustration felt by the community at their inadequate educational qualifications. See, Hirschmann, E. (1980) 'White Mutiny': The Ibert Bill Crisis in India and the Genesis of the Indian National Congress New Delhi: Heritage Publishers

(40) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.72); see also, Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (p.449)

(41) The issue of poverty and educational disadvantage is discussed in Note No. 18 under the title of the "Great Divide".

(42) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.72)

(43) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., p.32; see also, Gidney, H. (1925) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.XXI pp.657-662 (p.660)

(44) Gidney, H. (1934) 'The future of the Anglo-Indian community' Vol.LXXXIII pp.27-42

(45) Gidney, H. (1934) ibid., pp.27-42

(46) Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1977) Cycles of Disadvantage London: Heinemann

(47) Jencks, C. Smith, M. Acland, H. Bane, M.J. Cohen, D. Gintis, H. Heyns, B. Michelson, S. (1972) Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America London: Allen Lane (p.4). In Jencks, C. et. al., research a conclusion was drawn that it was difficult to equalize the opportunities available to "different children of the same race". If a society is competitive and rewards adults unequally, some parents are bound to succeed while others fail. "Unsuccessful parents will inevitably pass along some of their disadvantages". (p.4) See also, Bourdieu, P. (1976) 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' IN: R. Dale et. al., (eds.) Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader London: Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the Open University. Minority children find their world-views invalidated because, "each family transmits to its children indirectly rather than directly, a certain cultural capital and a certain ethos." (p.110)

Although India has taken specific measures to promote gender equality in schools by introducing curriculum materials on gender-role stereotypes, classroom observation conducted during 1990 in Anglo-Indian schools in India did not reflect any specific measures taken to promote gender

equality. See, Jayaweera, S. (1987) 'Gender and Access to Education in Asia' INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION UNESCO Volume 33, No.4 pp.455-466. See also, Hallak, J. (1990) Investing in the Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World International Institute for Educational Planning. Pergamon Press; see also, Kasaju, P. and Manandhai, T.B. (1985) 'Impact of parents' literacy on school enrolments and retention of children: The Case of Nepal' IN: G. Carron, and A. Bordia (eds.) Issues in planning and implementing national literacy programmes Paris: UNESCO IIEP

(48) Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1977) op cit.,

(49) Cox, O.C. (1948) Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social dynamics Seventh Printing New York: Monthly Review Press (p.318)

(50) Allen, C. (1977) op. cit., pp.52-3; see also, Nurullah, S. and Naik, J.P. (1951) op. cit., (p.224)

CHAPTER 4

ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. First, it describes the dynamics of Anglo-Indian educational development from 1900-1990, and second, it discusses those educational politics and policies that helped shape that educational development.

The argument is that the curriculum offered to Anglo-Indians at the turn of the century and continuing until 1947 was irrelevant to a proper understanding of India. After 1947, the increased presence of other groups of wealthy Indians in Anglo-Indian schools dictated curriculum outcomes for the Anglo-Indian community which further disadvantaged them in their own schools. The Anglo-Indians' apathy and rejection of the school were in sharp contrast to the Indian's effective commitment to an Anglo-Indian school's curriculum.

The structure of the chapter is:

(i) British government educational policies and reports 1900-1947
(ii) Indian government policies and reports 1947-1990
(iii) Anglo-Indian leadership and education
(iv) Conclusions.

2. British government educational policies and reports (1900-1947)

The early part of the century saw a series of governmental reports that brought to public notice the poor state of Anglo-Indian education. In 1905 the Bengal School Code (c.f. discussed above, in Ch.3 pp.88) became the European Schools' Code and was approved by government, but there were not enough teachers to implement the Code in all the Anglo-Indian schools.

There were no teachers for the Indian languages, or for vocational and technical skills. The Anglo-Indians were becoming deskilled, and in 1902, out of a total population of 32,130 European and Anglo-Indian children, 7000 were receiving no education. By 1907, the student population had decreased. (1)

This was despite the introduction, in 1906, of the Senior Cambridge Examination. These Cambridge examinations were called the

> ... bugbear of Anglo-Indian education, as they offered no blend, no evidence of synthesis between East and West. (2)

These examinations were important and served as occupational entrance requirements for higher education. The examinations created a pattern of privilege which justified an elaborate facade. The curriculum was non-integrative. The Anglo-Indians dropped out of education at an early age to enter subordinate jobs. The Anglo-Indians were disinterested in an educational system which denied them participatory control of their economic life.

In 1910, the Laidlaw Conference established that a large population of Anglo-Indians were living in appalling conditions and approved grants for providing scholarships

on a more generous scale. Sir Robert Laidlaw, was a wealthy Calcutta banker who became a benefactor of the community. He was concerned about the lack of academic qualifications the Anglo-Indians possessed.

The lack of educational qualifications produced a community which was unable to compete with the Indians for jobs. (3) In a similar vein, the Butler Conference in 1912, urged that destitute children should be offered free education and that collegiate education should be available after High School. These colleges provided a curriculum which led to university and a professional career. The fees were higher, but the colleges were free to poor boys who showed ability.

These colleges were opened in Bangalore, Mussoorie, Naini Tal and Allahabad. In addition two colleges were opened for teachers. The Sonawar college for men and another one in Simla for women. But, Anglo-Indians were still not completing an elementary education. So, despite all these improvements and most of the places in these new prestigious colleges went to non Anglo-Indians. (4)
Little had changed despite the attempted reforms.

The Sadler Commission 1917-1919 referred to the inadequate educational facilities for Anglo-Indians and stated that any system of education which ignored higher education was incomplete. The curriculum reflected the future occupations of Anglo-Indians.

The pattern continued and the occupational opportunities of Anglo-Indians consisted of subordinate positions. The culture of subservience created a cycle of disadvantage. The minority who succeeded in gaining professional status were fair-complexioned Anglo-Indians, who called themselves Domiciled Europeans. (5)

This confusion over nomenclature needed clarification. In 1911, when Lord Hardinge was Viceroy, the Government of India used the term Anglo-Indian to describe persons of mixed descent. The Anglo-Indians were seen as the only minority community in India (apart of course from the British) that possessed racial, religious and linguistic characteristics.

It is important to understand that the generic term Anglo-Indian covered a diverse community in that the legal definition of the Anglo-Indian did not differentiate between Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian. (6)

Under the Government of India Act, 1919, this definitional process went further when the Anglo-Indian Community was recognized. Representatives of the community sat in both Central and Provincial Legislatures. An Anglo-Indian was defined as:

> ... a British subject and resident in British India, of (a) European descent in the male line who is not comprised in the above definition, or of (b) mixed Asiatic descent, whose father, grandfather or more remote ancestor in the male line was born in the continent of Europe, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa or the United States of America, and who is not entered in the European electoral roll. In applying the above definitions it is proposed that the declaration of an elector that he is European or Anglo-Indian shall be accepted by the officer charged with the preparation of the electoral roll, unless he is satisfied that declaration is not made in good faith, in which case the officer shall record in writing his reasons for refusing to accept the declaration of the elector. (7)

The next section describes the commitment of Anglo-Indians

in military schools to defend the realm. The Anglo-Indians continued to show their loyalty to the British. Repression, individual powerlessness, inequality of incomes and inequality of opportunity did not deter them from offering themselves once again to serve the British.

2.1. The First World War (1914-1918): The Military Schools and Anglo-Indian students

Between 1914-1918 Anglo-Indian education was education for employment in the army. The Royal Military Schools in Sonawar, Murree and Lovedale sent students into the Army. The Lawrence School in Lovedale has a list of ex-students who fell in the wars fought by the British all over the world. The young officers had to be fair-complexioned. Anglo-Indian women were also enlisted in the Indian Army as nurses and worked in Government of India departments as typists and stenographers. (8)

The Anglo-Indian schools served the British well in their hour of need. In the history of Anglo-Indian schooling it was the integrative function between the Anglo-Indians and the British which dominated the purpose of schooling, to the detriment of other liberal objectives. Once again, Anglo-Indians laid down their lives for the British Empire. Their education fitted them for producing an army of loyal soldiers. Nobody questioned their loyalty because the community was accustomed to the social relationships of dominance and subordinacy since the first repressive laws of 1786.

At the end of World War I three important Reports were written which had an impact on Anglo-Indian schools. All these reports were linked with education and employment for Anglo-Indians at a subordinate level.

The next section describes the Reports and the Educational Reforms of the early part of the twentieth century.

2.2. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918)
The Pickford Report (1918-1919)
The Government of India Act (1919)

In 1918, the Montagu-Chelmsford Report stated that the Government had an obligation to protect the Anglo-Indian community. The Pickford Report (1918-1919) recommended that there should be more opportunities for Anglo-Indians to enter elementary schools, and there should be a move to introduce Technical and Vocational education into the schools to offer the Anglo-Indian an avenue for employment. Unfortunately because of the War, the two Reports were not seriously considered by the Government. (9)

The Pickford Committee's Report 1918-1919 did not stress higher education, but further education, in order to improve the technical and vocational skills of Anglo-Indians. By 1919 the Indianisation of the government services started with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which commented on the "peculiar situation" of the Anglo-Indians.

The Indianisation should not "prejudicially" affect their "peculiar situation". The "peculiar" Anglo-Indian schools and the "peculiar" job reservations prevented the Anglo-Indians from entering professional careers, but the "Indianisation" continued in the services without "prejudicially" affecting their interests. (10)

The Government of India Act (1919) made the distinction that European education, which was where the Anglo-Indian system was situated, was a "reserved" subject. This introduced an element of exclusivity into the education which the Indians resented, because European education came

under the control of the Executive council of the Provincial Government and was not the responsibility of an Indian Minister who was answerable to the Legislature. (11)

By 1919, very few Anglo-Indians had completed a High School education. As a result, the community found it difficult to compete for positions in the higher levels of the civil service after the Government of India Act of 1919. This was despite Paragraph 346 of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which discussed the responsibility the British government had to ensure that the interests of the Anglo-Indians would not be "prejudicially affected." (12)

The results of prejudice were the lack of an:

- opportunity to complete a secondary education and enter university;
- ability to compete and enter the professions.

Elitism was being linked with Anglo-Indian education, by separating it from the direct administration of an Indian minister of Education. The Anglo-Indians were however, becoming deskilled. Anglo-Indians were not completing secondary education because they were being given reserved jobs.

The reserved status of subordinate jobs blunted the Anglo-Indian's ambitions and prejudicially affected their life-chances. A consequence of this was that many parents developed a "frame of reference". This had provided them with "self-images and orientation to work" which were based on their own educational qualifications and promotion prospects. (13)

The Anglo-Indian schools provided the Anglo-Indians and the wealthy Indians with different opportunities and possibilities of reward. The "frame of reference" with its

limitation on higher education was the socializing influence of the schools, which more implicitly prepared Anglo-Indian children for the occupations which they were most likely to enter.

In 1926, the Under Secretary of State for India during question time in the House of Commons stated that membership of the auxiliary force in India was

> ... open to European British subjects, a term which for this purpose is held to include Anglo-Indians. (14)

The Anglo-Indians, for purposes of employment with the Government, were included in schemes of Indianization and were defined as statutory natives of India. For purposes of education and internal security, the Anglo-Indians were defined as European British subjects. (15)

Despite the Montagu-Chelmsford report, little changed over the next decade, and it was not until 1929 that a further effort was made to tackle the issue with the Hartog Report, which had implications for Anglo-Indian students sitting for the Cambridge University School Certificate examinations. See Appendix 6.

2.3. The Hartog Report (1929)

The Hartog Report (1929) recommended that European and Anglo-Indian education should remain under provincial control. The Inter-Provincial Board for Anglo-Indian and European Education retained the Cambridge University School Certificate Examinations. (16) One of the reasons, was the prestige of these examinations. They offered an opportunity of gaining admission to universities in Britain, without having to appear for any pre-university examination. It was a privilege which was not offered to

Matriculate students of Indian universities.

The Hartog Report was important because it defined for the first time the Anglo-Indian school's curriculum. It raised challenging questions about the aims and processes of curriculum development in Anglo-Indian schools. The Hartog Report sought for better communication along with a realisation that Anglo-Indian education, with its reliance on a British examination, was isolating and alienating the Anglo-Indian community from the majority of Indians in the sub-continent.

In the same year, the Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission (September 1929) presided over by Sir Philip Hartog, came to similar conclusions, stating that

> ...the examination was alien and was out of touch with the schools and with the lives and experiences of the children. (17)

The argument is that, Anglo-Indian schools lacked the fundamental right to determine their own curriculum, although there were many declarations of excellence about Anglo-Indian schools and the teachers' professional responsibility for curriculum decisions. The good intentions of the Hartog Report, like so many before it, came to nought.

2.4. The Government of India Act (1935)

In 1932, Sir Henry Gidney, the Anglo-Indian leader, was responsible for ensuring the rights of employment and education for Anglo-Indians. One of the most important aspects of the Government of India Act 1935 was the safeguarding of the rights of minorities in India. It protected the Anglo-Indians' "reserved" jobs, and defined the status of an Anglo-Indian. (18)

In 1930-1 The British Government also demanded from the Anglo-Indian and domiciled European community

> ... compulsory enlistment in a purely voluntary force - the Indian Defence Force - as a condition precedent to employment on railways, and that such demand was not made on any other employee. (19)

The 1935 Act secured employment for the community, and compulsory enlistment in a voluntary force was linked with jobs in the Indian Railways. By 1938, most Anglo-Indians served in the Indian Defence Force. The Indians who were employed in the Indian Railways were not enlisted in the Auxiliary Force.

This meant that employment was linked with defending the country. An Anglo-Indian who worked on the Indian Railways had to wear the uniform and carry a rifle as a member of the Auxiliary Force, which was the second line of defence to the British Army in India.

> If riots broke out in towns, where no military are stationed, the Auxiliary Force is called out and often has to fire on and kill the rioters. This naturally tends to cause hatred on the part of the Indian towards the Anglo-Indians. (20)

The education of Anglo-Indians was linked with their reserved jobs in communication, transport and law and order. These jobs were now linked to the 'Voluntary Auxiliary Force' which created another reason for the Indian distrust of the community. Sir Henry Gidney worked hard to convince the British government to continue reserving jobs for Anglo-Indians. These jobs were now making the community nervous, because

> ... their employment in the preservation of order ... led them to be regarded as 'strike breakers', and thus compromises their position as railway employees with Indians, and makes them more out of favour with political Indians than they already are. (21)

The Government of India Act 1935 proved to be the key stumbling block to any real educational progress. The Anglo-Indians were educated as European British subjects but were employed as statutory natives of India. Equality of opportunity and social control were intermingled with education and jobs.

The main idea being pursued in this chapter is, that the basic issue of inequalities of years of schooling between Anglo-Indians and other Indians was something done to the Anglo-Indians and for the Anglo-Indians. The merger of education and jobs became impossible to separate. Not even Gidney could unravel the

> ... cumulative effect of long years of subordination which produced a community so demoralized ... of almost all self-assertion, initiative and vision. (22)

Thus, by 1947, the Anglo-Indian school curriculum had not prepared Anglo-Indians to integrate with other Indians.

The next section continues this history, by discussing the development of the curriculum in Anglo-Indian schools after Indian independence in 1947, and the significant role emigration played in determining curriculum outcomes for Anglo-Indians.

3. Indian Government Policies and Reports (1947-1990)

It would be sensible to begin this section with a view of what is meant by the word 'curriculum'. A broad perspective of curriculum can be described as all the learning opportunities provided by a school for a pupil. This would include the formal programme of lessons and the 'extra curricular' activities which are promoted and supported by the school.

Curriculum would also include the quality of life established in a school community, the relationships, attitude and behaviour of the teachers and students, thus this aspect would also include the Personal and Social Development of a student. (23)

In analytical terms the curriculum in an Anglo-Indian school in 1947 had a syllabus which was too limited for Anglo-Indians, and all the opportunities to learn were not always present for Anglo-Indian students. This is still largely true today. The language curriculum and the religious education curriculum have failed to help Anglo-Indians to integrate with other Indians. The language curriculum outcomes for Anglo-Indians have also resulted in failure to complete ten or twelve years of schooling.

3.1. The significance of learner choice and curriculum outcomes: Anglo-Indian educational policies (1947-1990)

The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report 1957-58, occasionally called The Baptist Mission Report, stated that out of 1207 individuals (592 males and 615 females), only 5 males were graduates, and 316 males and 439 females had not completed their secondary schooling by passing the matriculation examination at 16+.

Forty percent of Anglo-Indians in Calcutta lived in huts, and there was a growing indifference and distrust of the various Anglo-Indian Associations. The Baptist Report, stated that the socio-economic condition of the community was

> ... much worse than it was twenty years ago...with the general educational level of the community as a whole was poor. (24)

The Anglo-Indians who wanted to learn an Indian language found themselves in an impossible situation. The null Indian language policy in Anglo-Indian schools had produced a group of Anglo-Indian teachers who were unable to teach an Indian language as a second language.

At the same time, the schools suffered from falling rolls because Anglo-Indians were emigrating in large numbers. The schools had to survive. The schools allowed the curriculum to be dictated by the needs of the wealthy Indians.

This course of inaction for Anglo-Indians created the first batch of Anglo-Indians who failed to pass an Indian language examination. But the same language policy produced a course of action for Indians attending Anglo-Indian schools. They became fluent English speakers and also retained their fluency in their mother tongue.

The educational politics of the Anglo-Indian associations produced a policy which was inegalitarian. Once again the Anglo-Indians were in a subordinate position, with the dominant roles played by other wealthy Indians in Anglo-Indian schools. The wealthy Indian learner who wanted to learn English as a second language, dictated the curriculum outcome for the Anglo-Indian student who wanted to learn an Indian language as a second language.

It could be argued that learner choice dictated the rapid expansion of Anglo-Indian schools all over India. The demand for an education in the English medium from wealthy Indians has enabled these schools to flourish. The Indian students who form the majority in the Anglo-Indian schools have benefited from the Bombay School's Case (c.f. discussion below pp.139-140) because there was no longer any restriction to their entry.

In addition, at that time, the Anglo-Indian schools started teaching Hindi as a compulsory subject because the majority of students in Anglo-Indian schools were Indians and the future survival of the schools was linked to such simple economics. This decision resulted from the report of a group of headteachers and teachers from Anglo-Indian schools entitled "Towards the Re-Orientation of Anglo-Indian education in West Bengal". The report stated that the Official language Hindi would be taught as a compulsory second language for all pupils. (25)

In 1956, the Anglo-Indian school which the researcher attended had adopted the 10+1 pattern of education. The extra year was an effort made by the school to offer an Indian Certificate Examination, as an additional qualification, after completion of the Cambridge Overseas Examination at 16+. It was not further education, as the Cambridge Certificate was accepted by some Colleges in Bombay as completion of the First Year Arts or First Year Science degree.

In 1956, the Frank Anthony Schools' Scheme was started, and in May 1958, the All-India Anglo-Indian Education Society was established. This Society promoted Anglo-Indian education, and in 1959, the Frank Anthony Public School in New Delhi was opened, followed by one in Calcutta in 1965 and another one in Bangalore in 1967. The Education Society is responsible for an Anglo-Indian Scholarship

Scheme, but the grants awarded are very small.

The scholarship schemes offered by Frank Anthony have been described as ludicrous. One scholarship student stated that the money was equivalent to a seat in a cinema house, and he used the amount to watch a movie. Another Anglo-Indian man described the amount he received while he was at school as

> ... not enough to keep me in toothpaste for a year. (26)

The rhetoric about the generous scholarships is impressive; the reality is that the award is practically worthless. As a result, Anthony states that the Frank Anthony Schools' Scheme is the greatest hostage that the community has given to education in India. (27)

The educational inaction, of which the scholarship scheme is indicative, had been identified and perceived by Anglo-Indians who were interviewed in Britain in 1987, and Anglo-Indians in India during the field study in 1990. This inactive policy was also identified by Indian social scientists and Indian educationists during the field study in 1990. (28)

The policy makers since the 1950s have thus created a curriculum through which social values are not prioritised and allocated to Anglo-Indians, but exist for Indian students. In other words, the mechanisms of selection for further and higher education act against Anglo-Indians.

The language policy for Anglo-Indian students ensures that Anglo-Indians fail to pass Indian language examinations and drop out of school. The curriculum and educational policies work for the Indian students, but do not work for Anglo-Indian students. Consequently, Anglo-Indians shun

their own schools.

In 1990, the Laidlaw Memorial School offered a number of Anglo-Indian students excellent scholarships. (29) The Principal and Headteacher were concerned about raising standards for Anglo-Indians on scholarships whose homes were in slums. Although such Anglo-Indians received scholarships which included tuition fees, uniforms, books and boarding fees, they were the failures in the school.

The school offered the educational and other social conditions of an elitist school to students who were not the social equals of the wealthy Indians. There was no programme to initiate them or support them once they arrived. There was no Special Educational Needs Department in the school for this group of students. The students were apathetic, disruptive, truanted and did not show any inclination to return after they repeated a class. The students eventually dropped out of the school. (30)

The Frank Anthony Schools in India in 1990 are also prosperous and cater to an elitist, wealthy class of Indian students. Very few Anglo-Indians are being educated in these schools. It will be argued that the schools offer education to Indians, and offer it in a most successful way to Indian students. On the one hand the schools fail to offer academic success to Anglo-Indians; on the other the building programme has accelerated to meet the demand of non Anglo-Indians during the 1990s.

The following sections describes the educational policies of the Indian Government during the same period. This separation is made so as to facilitate analysis of a complex series of educational events. In particular, these sections will examine how and why the language and religious education curriculum underwent a change, and how Anglo-Indian schools entered further education, by

extending the years of schooling from ten years to twelve years.

The first of these sections will describe the curriculum development work done by the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education because this was deeply influential.

3.2. The Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education: (1947-1990)

During the 1950s, the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education was mainly responsible for the All-India Examination patterns adopted by the Anglo-Indian schools. The Board was guided by the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examination. The secretary was the Anglo-Indian Member of Parliament A.E.T. Barrow. The Senior Cambridge examinations were found to be irrelevant to Indian education; so a new examination was introduced. The new examination was called the Indian School Certificate examination (I.S.C.E.)

The Council for the Indian School Certificate examination published three books in 1961 on the Diversified Courses introduced into Anglo-Indian schools. The task of the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian education was to ensure uniformity and a high standard of education in Anglo-Indian schools. (32)

In the 1950s D'Souza, who was the Inspector of Anglo-Indian schools in West Bengal, realised the importance of "Indianising" the Anglo-Indian schools. He appointed the Non-Official Anglo-Indian Education Reorientating Advisory Committee from the educationists in West Bengal's Anglo-Indian schools.

The findings of the committee were published in a Report of

the Reorientation Committee and circulated to the schools in 1955. The Advisory Committee recommended a

> ... thorough examination of ways and means that could be incorporated into the schools system to give it an Indian bias, (33)

and invited Anglo-Indian schools to consider introducing a curriculum contained in the Secondary Education Commission.

Yet, as the schools were attempting to move away from an English language dominated curriculum, by 1960, English had spread from the professional and middle-classes to the business and merchant classes. English was regarded by educationists in Higher Education and especially in the scientific and technical fields of education as irreplaceable. (34)

In 1961, the Diversified Courses were published. In 1961, in the Census of India, the Anglo-Indian community was not listed as a separate community, but was listed under religion as Christians whose mother tongue was English. In 1961, the National Integration Conference called for a mutual understanding between communities.

Language and religion became two of the focal points of the debate on Emotional Integration, besides casteism. (35) By this time, however, the Anglo-Indian schools were making desperate attempts to "Indianise" the curriculum. (36)

3.2.1. H.R.H. Daniell: Anglo-Indian Educationist

H.R.H. Daniell was an Anglo-Indian educationist who also advocated change in the curriculum. Daniell was aware that the preservation of the English language and Christianity was important for the minority community's schools, but he advised that

> Anglo-Indian schools should join the main stream of Indian education.

He was the first Anglo-Indian educationist to see the benefits of a

> ... curriculum based on activities and on psychological interest and capacities. (37)

Daniell encouraged the technical and vocational initiative in Anglo-Indian schools. He also saw the necessity of teaching Indian languages. (37) Daniell's curriculum was based on activities and on psychological interest. His 1941 curriculum for change was ill-timed. Education took a back seat to the war effort. The researcher carefully studied Daniell's curriculum. It provided the researcher with some of the ideas to create an educational theory-practice model to eliminate disadvantage (c.f. discussion below Ch. 9. p.331).

The next section describes an educationist and a politician who was elected Honourary General-Secretary of the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association in 1955. He remained in this office until his death in 1990.

3.2.2. A.E.T. Barrow: Anglo-Indian Educationist and Politician

An equally influential figure at this time was A.E.T. Barrow. He was the Anglo-Indian Member of Parliament and Secretary of the Council for the Indian School Certificate Examination. He was responsible for the preparation of the Anglo-Indian school syllabus. Uniformity was one of the objectives, and Barrow worked tirelessly to implement change. (38) In an interview with the researcher in 1990, Anthony spoke of his friend who had died earlier in the

year.

> Albert Barrow organized an education service to produce and reward measured, examinable attainments in India for Anglo-Indian schools. I salute an extraordinary educationist.

Despite these efforts by Barrow to Indianise the schools, the real change was only made possible by the publication of the Kothari Commission's Report, 1964-1966. This was the seventh commission in the history of Indian education and has been the most influential document in Indian education and is discussed in the next section.

3.3. The Educational Policies of the Indian Government and their impact on Anglo-Indian Education: The Kothari Commission (1964-1966)

The Kothari Commission's Report was visionary. Anglo-Indian schools with their Christian ethos and English language as the medium of instruction, received recognition in the Report. It stressed the integration of the Anglo-Indian community with the majority Indians.

The Kothari Commission set out to standardise the years of schooling across India. Their recommendations on this became known as the Arithmetic Formula in Indian Education. This means, ten years of primary and secondary schooling, two years of further education and three years of higher education. (39)

The three languages which had to be taught in all Indian schools, and this included the Anglo-Indian schools, were:

(1) The mother tongue or the regional language.
(2) The Official language of the Union, which is Hindi.
(3) A modern Indian or European language which is not

> covered by either the mother tongue or regional language or Hindi. (40)

The Anglo-Indian's mother tongue is English. Therefore, all Anglo-Indians must be taught in the medium of English. Anglo-Indians also must learn the regional language. The schools are scattered all over India. The state or regional language is different for each school. Anglo-Indians should also learn Hindi the Official Language of the Union. Thus, the three-language-formula meant the introduction of the state or regional language and Hindi into Anglo-Indian schools.

The Kothari Commission stated that the mother tongue had a pre-eminent claim as the medium of education at the school and college stages. English would continue as a link language in higher education for academic work and intellectual communication. English could not serve as the link language for the majority of Indians, and it was therefore Hindi which should take the place of English as a link language in India. (41)

Anglo-Indian schools continued with a fact-oriented, textbook-based language curriculum, rather than propounding a skills-based problem-solving documentary approach to the learning of Indian languages. The three-language-formula in Anglo-Indian schools resulted in a continuing dichotomy between traditional and progressive forms of curriculum development. This greatly impeded progress in languages education. (42)

The political approaches to the management of change based on the three-language-formula was seen as a matter of increasing the number of Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools. Indian students have benefitted from the three-language-formula.

Indian students who choose to study in Anglo-Indian schools learn all their subjects in English. They arrive in an Anglo-Indian school fluent in an Indian language. They learn English as a second language in an Anglo-Indian school. As the medium of instruction is English, they learn to read, write and speak English fluently.

However, the initial advantages for Anglo-Indians are slowly eroded. The timetable is biased towards non Anglo-Indians learning a second language - English. The reality is that Anglo-Indians thus spend too small a proportion of the timetable learning a second language - Hindi or a state language. So, Anglo-Indians fail to pass Indian language examinations. (43) The Indian government's language policy has changed but language teaching has remained unchanged in Anglo-Indian schools since 1956. (44)

The Commission also looked at religious education and advocated a neutral, secular position. Anglo-Indian schools, as a result, now offer religious education outside the normal school timetable. Religion cannot be taught during school hours. This has proved problematical, because while Anglo-Indians are taught about Christianity, the Indians are given lessons on ethics. This has split the student population, and further alienated Anglo-Indians from Indians. Anglo-Indian teachers call the

> ... before school or after school religious education classes a farce. It is time for homework, and an invasion of precious extra curricular activities. (45)

The decision to offer radical new solutions to issues of language and religion in Anglo-Indian schools were, in part, based on requests by Anglo-Indian teachers. By 1990, the effect of the Kothari Commission's report produced comments from teachers in the schools along the lines of:

> We know why they are failing, but we don't know what to do about it. You tell us in very simple language what to do. Leave out all the educational jargon. We need guidance and practical suggestions. We will try to follow your theory into practice in our classrooms. Some teachers also felt that it would be unprofessional not to at least make an attempt. (46)

The Kothari Commission was very important for Anglo-Indian education as it created an impetus for change in the schools, the consequences of which are still subject for debate today. However, it was not the only major report. The next section discusses the 1979 Document issued by the NCERT on making a curriculum work for the good of a community.

3.4. Socially Useful Productive Work Curriculum (SUPWC) (1979)

In 1979, The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) published a document. This discussed evaluation of the Socially Useful Productive Work Curriculum (SUPWC). The SUPWC Report stressed the necessity for work experience being linked to the curriculum and the needs of the wider community. All students undertake work experience by 16+.

By 1990, the needs of the Anglo-Indian community were still not being met by the schools. The work experience offered to Anglo-Indian students was often ineffective or inappropriate. Anglo-Indian schools had not evaluated the SUPWC initiative. No policy existed in Anglo-Indian schools in 1990 for addressing this specific educational need of Anglo-Indian pupils. (47) This record of failure to provide useful work experience opportunities for Anglo-

Indians in their schools was also recorded by an American sociologist in 1979. (48)

Government attempts to help resolve the seeming crisis in Anglo-Indian education continued throughout the period. By 1986, the Indian Government introduced guidelines for a National Policy on Education.

3.5. The National Policy on Education (NPE) (1986)

The Indian Parliament discussed and adopted the National Policy on Education (NPE - 1986) during the Budget Session in 1986. The Minister of Human Resource Development produced a Programme of Action (POA - 1986) during the Monsoon Session for the implementation of the policy. Twenty-three Task Forces were created. These Task Forces had educationists and government representatives from the Central and State Governments.

Task Force I was called "Making the System Work", and Task Force II was concerned with "Content and Processes of School Education". Task Force V was entitled "Minorities' Education", and Task Force XVIII was called "The Cultural Perspective and Implementation of Language Policy". Task Force XX was called "Evaluation Process and Examination Reform".

These Task Forces were directly related to change. If Anglo-Indian schools are to become more effective and successful for Anglo-Indian students then the NPE must be carefully studied. The significance of culture and structure when related to Anglo-Indian schools was an important aspect of the NPE document. (49)

Anglo-Indian schools benefited from the National Policy on Education. The NPE reiterated the rights of Anglo-Indians

to:

- conserve their own language, script and culture;
- continue to administer and manage their own schools;
- deliver a core founded on English and Christianity.

The NPE clearly outlined the importance of Hindi which was provided for in Article 351 of the Indian Constitution. The NPE also supported the Kothari Commission's three-language-formula for all schools. Hindi was called the Official Language of the Union and was given prominence in the NPE. Anglo-Indian schools had to ensure that Anglo-Indians were educated in English and Hindi.

The NPE stressed the importance of learning the state or regional language. This language was linked to jobs in state governments. The NPE stated that education must meet the demands and expectations of the environment in which it was located. In other words, Anglo-Indian schools should be educating Anglo-Indians to take their place in Indian society. (50)

The next section discusses the National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education. The document is an important one and demands are made on the educational system to undergo a qualitative transformation.

3.5.1. The National Council for Educational Research and Training (NCERT) Report: National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education - A Framework (1988)

The 1988 NCERT Report stresses the importance of the world of work and links this to the learning of the mother tongue, Hindi and a state or regional language. The Report also suggests that the national curriculum must take into account a child-centred approach to education. The

classroom environment should enable students to learn how to learn.

The singularly most important aspect of this report for Anglo-Indian schools is the percentage of time suggested for the teaching of language(s), namely:

At the Primary Stage:	30%
At the Upper Primary Stage:	32%
At the Secondary Stage:	30% (51)

It can be argued that the Anglo-Indian schools must ensure that a link is established between the classroom and its formalized set of curricular topics and the world of work. The world of work is a world of communication. If the Anglo-Indians are ineffective communicators in Hindi and an Indian state or regional language the schools are failing to address the issues raised by the NCERT Report.

Anglo-Indian schools should undertake a continuous and comprehensive evaluation of the curriculum. The report stresses the evaluation of the curriculum offered in an Anglo-Indian school. This means that Anglo-Indian schools must monitor the formal curriculum which is concerned with knowledge, that is, quantity and content. The schools must also evaluate the informal curriculum, that is, the non-verbal and verbal cues that accompany knowledge or the lack of knowledge. (52)

In order to meet the requirements for curriculum change, as advocated in the 1988 NCERT report, the goal achievement of Anglo-Indian schools is to create a motivating environment for Anglo-Indians to succeed at 16+.

The report does not discuss a framework for curriculum change post 16. The processes of learning, improving the effectiveness of learning for all Anglo-Indians, and

enabling Anglo-Indians to integrate with other Indians must be clearly defined policies in Anglo-Indian schools.

The 1988 report does not represent a retreat from the essential principles of vocational preparation. Work experience during the Primary stage is twenty per cent of time. During the upper Primary stage it is reduced to twelve per cent and increased by one percent in the Secondary stage to thirteen per cent.

Anglo-Indian schools must define the needs of Anglo-Indians in vocational education, but not at the price of academic education. Implicit in the 1988 report is the nature of guidance. Guidance is a process. (53)

Guidance can take place:

- at or before entry;
- at induction;
- throughout the student's work experience programme; and,
- at or before exit from the vocational or academic programme of education in the school.

Therefore, schools have a responsibility to ensure that Anglo-Indian students are competent bilinguals in English and an Indian language.

The Indian Government sought to make education an effective instrument for securing equality for women and minority groups and the government felt it was essential to give a work and employment orientation to education. This had direct implications for minority Anglo-Indian students, who were failing at school and possessed little or no marketable skills. (54)

In 1990, the Indian Government headed by Shri V.P. Singh stated that the highest priority would be given to education. The Indian Government was concerned about the

implementation of the National Policy of Education (NPE) and the Programme of Action (POA) to carry out the educational reforms of the NPE (1986). In 1990, the Ramamurti Report was published. It was the first report to challenge the Three-Language Formula and described Hindi and English as link languages in India.

The next section discusses this important report. The Ramamurti Report is examined because it regards the school as the principal agency of curriculum development. The Ramamurti Report questions the traditionalist assumptions and assertions of school and teacher autonomy. In the context of Anglo-Indian schools it challenges the social and cultural phenomena of curriculum development in these schools.

3.5.2. The Ramamurti Report (1990): Committee to review National Policy on Education (1986) and Programme of Action (POA) (1986)

The Ramamurti Committee was appointed to review the national Policy of Education (1986) and its Programme of Action (1986). It submitted its recommendations to the Indian Government on 26 December 1990. Language learning was essential for creating national and social integration. English and Hindi were described as link languages.

English was also needed as a language of learning in the field of higher education and was called a "library language". The Committee recommended that English should be studied in the upper primary or secondary stages in all schools. English and Hindi could be studied for three or six years.

The Committee found that the three language formula was interfering with the development of the child's mastery of

a mother-tongue at the elementary stage of education. The Committee also recommended that it was essential to link work and employment to education, as work experience was being marginalised in schools. A discussion of religious personalities should be encouraged and this came under the heading of Value Education. (55)

The main factors in the Ramamurti Report are the economic, political and social motivations to maximise and further increase language education in English and Hindi. The Report reiterated the common dialogue between education and employment and national integration. It provides Anglo-Indian schools with a Programme of Action for the nineties. Economic and technological changes and high youth unemployment have made it difficult for the community to survive in India.

Anglo-Indian schools must provide Anglo-Indian students with a better start in working and adult life. This should be achieved through an integrated programme of language learning, religious education and practical experience in a range of related jobs or skills. The Ramamurti Report stressed the importance of schools developing and maintaining an adaptable, highly motivated and productive work force.

By 1990 the impetus and impact of the Ramamurti Report upon vocational preparation has been in terms of an emphasis on employer based rather than college based schemes. Anglo-Indian schools should take the initiative and map 16-19 educational provisions which sets out comprehensively, an integrated programme to teach Anglo-Indians competence in Indian languages and competitiveness in the Indian job market.

The next section describes the degree to which the political arena has been used by Anglo-Indian leaders. In

the climate of rapid growth in Anglo-Indian education throughout the last thirty years a power struggle has emerged.

4. Anglo-Indian Leadership and Educational Policies (1918-1993)

Two men emerged during the twentieth century as leaders of the Anglo-Indian community. Sir Henry Gidney was a medical doctor and Frank Anthony a barrister.Between them they carved the century into two halves. Gidney presided over Anglo-Indian affairs until his death in 1942, and Anthony was the Life-President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association until his death in 1993.

Both men exerted a major influence on curriculum policies in Anglo-Indian schools. They were both responsible for creating types of bodies who examined, validated and controlled the curriculum in the schools. Gidney more than Anthony intervened into learning situations and content. Anthony initiated syllabus and examination bodies and maintained a firm control over the schools which he founded and bear his name.

Gidney proposed arrangements within vocational and technical education. He placed emphasis on the need for the public sector to provide training. Gidney realised that vocational and technical education must become more responsive to employment needs at national and local level for Anglo-Indians.

Anthony faced major difficulties in implementing Indian language policies in the schools for Anglo-Indian students. His first initiatives were the outcome of political anxieties and his courtroom successes will give him his well-earned place in Anglo-Indian history.

Both Gidney and Anthony attempted to create greater equality between Anglo-Indians and Indians. Their high-risk political approach became a possibility because there was widespread discontent with Anglo-Indian education. Although Anthony more than Gidney had the advantage of community control, he found it difficult to increase Anglo-Indian parental interest and participation in education.

The next two sections describe Gidney and Anthony and places their achievements in the context of Anglo-Indian education.

4.1. Sir Henry Gidney: Leadership Years (1918-1942)

In 1919, Sir Henry Gidney (1873-1942) a medical doctor, was elected President of the Anglo-Indian Empire League. He was to lead the Anglo-Indian community for over two decades. Gidney amalgamated the various Anglo-Indian Associations, with the sheer force of his personality. (56)

Gidney initiated the fund raising activities to create the Higher Education Fund, which was independent of the Association's funds. Loans were offered to deserving students. Scholarships were opened up, for example, the Desouza Indian Civil Service Scholarship, founded in 1888 for study in England had not been awarded until 1926.

The Virginia Cuyper and Griffith Scholarship funds were also administered by the Anglo-Indian Association. Gidney restarted The Anglo-Indian Review in 1926. It was the rival of The Anglo-Indian Citizen which was the journal of the rival Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Federation. (57)

By 1928, the Secretary of State advised the Anglo-Indian community that they should be prepared to

> ... open out for themselves a wider range of employment and depend less completely on government service ...

and to improve their standards of education,

> ... which will enable the community to face with confidence the increased competition which must confront it. (58)

Competition for securing employment and improving educational standards were the messages to the community in 1928. These were ignored, because the Anglo-Indians felt that being a minority community, the reservation of jobs and educational institutions were unassailable rights.

In 1933, Anglo-Indians had representatives in the Legislative Assemblies and the Provincial Councils. Sir Gidney's address at a discussion meeting of members of the East India Association in October, 1933 expressed his concern about the future of the Anglo-Indians and its economic extinction.

He represented Anglo-Indian interests at the Round-Table Conferences in 1931 and 1932, recommended special recognition for the employment and education of Anglo-Indians. He received the support of Sir Mohammad Iqbal, M.R. Jayakar, a leading liberal Indian politician and ex-Vice-Chancellor of the University of Bombay and Lord Irwin, former Viceroy of India and Minister of the Board of Education in England. (59)

Anticipating this, in 1927, the Indian Statutory Commission's President, Sir John Simon, was finalising plans for responsible government. The Viceroy, Lord Irwin,

nominated six members from the Assembly to the Indian Central Committee to assist the Simon Commission. The Simon Report admitted that the Anglo-Indians were loyal to the British, but did nothing for the community. (60)

The policy of Indianization had radically altered the "reserved" job status for Anglo-Indians, and a Memorandum was sent by the Anglo-Indians to the Indian Statutory Commission, which urged for "adequate safeguards be provided by statutory enactment for a stated period" in the "reserved" job quotas for Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians were fluent English speakers and jobs in the Provincial Civil Service, Provincial Judicial Service, Government of India and Provincial Government Secretariats, Salt, Forest, Survey and Police demanded a knowledge of English. (61)

Gidney played the English Language "card" with shrewd caution, and linked it with employment in India for the Anglo-Indians. He understood the deep historical and contemporary inequalities which existed in Anglo-Indian education. What Gidney lacked was the power to influence the British to alter their policies in favour of the Anglo-Indians. His influence had some recognized official backing but he had no authority to change the political course for Anglo-Indians.

Although Gidney was an orator who had access to information, he lacked the negative power of Gandhi. Gidney could not stop things from happening. He was unable to delay, distort or even disrupt events. His leadership of the community in the pre-Independence era will not be forgotten. He paved the way for the next leader in the Anglo-Indian community, Frank Anthony.

The next section offers a description of Frank Anthony. He became President of the powerful All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association after Gidney's death.

4.2. Frank Anthony: Leadership Years (1942-1993)

After Gidney's death in 1942, a brilliant, young Anglo-Indian lawyer, Frank Anthony, was elected by the All-India Anglo-Indian Association as President. Anthony, effectively took over the leadership of the Anglo-Indian community. Addressing the members at the Annual General Meeting of the Bombay branch September 1942 he spoke passionately of the need to cling

> ... tenaciously to all that we hold dear, our language, our way of life and our distinctive culture. (62)

India was granted her Independence in 1947. Anthony expected the Anglo-Indians to become Indians overnight. He described the community as always being Indian. He exhorted the community to be loyal to India, by "staying on" in India. However, about three hundred thousand Anglo-Indians left India after 1947. (63)

It was obviously too late to heed Anthony's advice. The shape of the future for Anglo-Indians to stay on in India, included the demands to love all things which were Indian. The English language and Christianity set the community apart and the attitudes and expectations of the Indians severely tested the community.

The limitation of the community's own resources as a political entity together with the diversity of its ethnicity created the exodus. The Hindu-Muslim riots of post-Independence panicked the community and emigration to Britain started, leaving a community in India to

> ... find its feet ... politically, economically, socially, culturally and

psychologically. (64)

Anthony will go down in the history of Anglo-Indian education as the man who protected the Anglo-Indian's right to be educated in English. He removed the isolationist tag from Anglo-Indian schools in a brilliant courtroom battle with the Education Department of Bombay state in 1954.

In 1954, Justice Das of the Supreme Court offered the most balanced description of Anglo-Indian education. He observed during the Bombay School's Case that:

> ... a minority like the Anglo-Indian community, which is based, inter alia, on religion and language, has the fundamental right to conserve its language, script and culture under Article 29(1) and has the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice under Article 30(1), surely then there must be implicit in such fundamental right the right to impart instruction in their own institutions to the children of their own community in their own language. To hold otherwise will be to deprive Article 29(1) and Article 30(1) of the greater part of their contents. (65)

Survival of Anglo-Indian education was the root cause for the Bombay Schools' Case in 1954. The Bombay government had issued an order in December 1953, which prohibited the admission of Indian students to Anglo-Indian schools. The discrimination lay in the fact, that the Hindi language medium schools could accept Indians and Anglo-Indians.

The Anglo-Indian enrolment in 1953 was approximately one third of the total student population in Anglo-Indian schools. The schools were facing closure without two-thirds of the Indian student population. The order infringed on the fundamental rights of parents to choose an

education for their children.

The Bombay Education Society and two parents, Dr. M. Gujr and Major J. Pinto challenged the validity of the order. They complained that it denied admission to the son and daughter of the respective parents on that ground that the mother-tongue of the children was not English. The Bombay High Court ruled against the Bombay State government on grounds that it had contravened Article 29(2) which states:

> No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only by religion, caste, language or any of them. (66)

The Bombay State government appealed the decision of the High Court and the case went to the Supreme Court of India. The Supreme Court upheld the ruling of the Bombay High Court, and Lord Justice Das handed down his judgement on May 25, 1954.

Returning to leadership Anthony more than Gidney understood how power and influence operate in educational and political organizations. He developed a view that organizational processes are best understood by focusing not on formal organization and power as a commodity but on the games which individuals and groups play in order to solve problems. He treated power as a bargaining relationship. During an interview with the researcher in 1990, Anthony said,

> There are always three courses open to the enemy - and he usually takes the fourth! One must detail logistic plans, but operational plans must be kept purposefully vague, because I must take account of the 'fourth course'.

By 1990, Anthony was aware that Anglo-Indians lacked functional literacy skills in Indian languages. He was

shown examples of inadequate English writing skills by Anglo-Indian students. These examples were collected by the researcher in the Indian states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and West Bengal. He said,

> Steps must be taken to remedy this problem. You have evidence that it exists. Functional literacy in English and Hindi is most important for the community.

Anthony commented on marked class differentials in attainment between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians in the schools. The children of the poor Anglo-Indians were making the least progress of all.

This charismatic leader of the Anglo-Indian community spoke of change. He referred to changes in social preferences in the community, in demography, in education and the inadequate socio-economic power of Anglo-Indians in India. Sadly, Anthony died in 1993 before this thesis was completed.

The next section describes the significance of the 1954 judgement on learner choice and curriculum outcomes, which affected Anglo-Indian educational politics in its schools for Anglo-Indian students.

4.3. Anglo-Indian Educational Politics

In some ways the All-India Anglo-Indian Association is an entrepreneurial organization with the structure of a web. The reason lay in the central power source which was Frank Anthony who had remained in power for half a century.

Anthony was the Life-President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association (A.I.A.I.A). Through a selection of key individuals, who remained close to his seat of power,

Anthony persuaded the community to accept his leadership. These selected persons moved only if Anthony moved. Although the A.I.A.I.A. reacted quickly to threat and danger, the major power base in this cultural association emanated from Anthony. The flaw lay in putting a lot of faith in one individual and very little in the committees. (67)

The argument is that, although the A.I.A.I.A. has been successful, it now suffers from low morale. There has been a high turnover in the middle layers of the association as individuals who clashed with Anthony resign their posts.

The problem for Anglo-Indian schools lies in the fact that each person who drops out of the main association creates a smaller group. This fragmentation has created uncertainty in the community. Power cultures such as the A.I.A.I.A can stagnate or be annexed, because a web without a spider has no strength.

Anglo-Indian schools which owe their allegiance to the All-India Anglo-Indian Association are organised differently to Anglo-Indian schools which are administered by different Anglo-Indian Associations. Collaboration does not exist between these schools. The only link is that they are all English medium schools, with a Christian ethos and owned, managed or administered by Anglo-Indians. (68)

The fragmentation and non-collaborative policies for the Anglo-Indian schools has enhanced the disadvantage levels for Anglo-Indians. Anglo-Indians who live in poverty are aware of the problems in the community. Unfortunately, they are powerless to change anything. Their children continue to fail their language examinations sinking deeper into a pit of poverty and unemployment.

What is required is a 'task culture' association for Anglo-Indians. The shape is a net; like the fisherman's net it gathers and keeps its fish. The web culture attracts an individual or a group but there is no way out except in self-destruction. The present web culture demands loyalty to a single person, whereas the net shape of the task culture relies on the power and influence at the knots in the net, that is the various committees and sub-committees. A task culture

> ... utilizes the unifying power of the group to improve efficiency and to identify the individual with the objective of the organization. (69)

The Anglo-Indian community in India has been aware of an involuted hierarchy, where decision-making is always taken out of the committee or association and made elsewhere. In Anglo-Indian associations, membership of a committee was an important position to aspire to. Nevertheless, equality of status in a state association or committee was by no means commensurate with equality of access to the main, powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association with its headquarters in New Delhi. The Association's members are nominated by the President of India as Members of Parliament.

There has not been a great deal of interaction between the various associations and therefore there is no equalisation of resources and power. Anglo-Indian associations suffer from what is known as pseudo participation. (70) The associations participate in education by administering or managing their own schools.

Each group of schools is isolated from another group. Thus this structure of pseudo participatory decision-making poses problems for accountability to the minority community. The associations are only aware of their own membership. The size of the community therefore is

debatable because some associations do not accept others as Anglo-Indians, although these "outgroups" clearly conform to the definition of an Anglo-Indian.

What is at issue is not the infighting, mud-slinging and petty jealousies between the associations, but the far more important issue of educational justice. All Anglo-Indians in India should have the right to know if decisions which are made result in "inequalities of liberty" or infringe the "principles of justice" in their own schools. (71)

In 1986, at a public meeting of Anglo-Indians in Madras, concern was shown for the large number of Anglo-Indians who "wallow in poverty and misery". Poor Anglo-Indians are compelled to send their children to

> ... third rate English Medium Institutions or teaching shops where the fees are lower and the teaching is sub-standard. (72)

This had occurred because Anglo-Indian schools have become elitist and profit oriented. Anglo-Indian children have been forced out of the very schools which exist for them. In addition, unemployment was linked to monolingualism in the community because Anglo-Indians are not bilingual. Thus, Anglo-Indians cannot get employed by the State Government.

By 1990, there were more than thirty associations or groups or societies which bore the name of Anglo-Indian Association, Society, Group or Activist. All these groups professed to look after the needs of a local community. In all these groups, there were what can be termed, for convenience, superordinate and subordinate individuals and groups.

In attempts to increase their power base, some groups made attempts to amalgamate with other groups, but these

liaisons were short-lived. Power may be analyzed in terms of its weight, domain and scope. The keyword is power, and in general, one understands power as the "chance of a man or a number of men to realise their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others." (73)

All these groups and associations of Anglo-Indians face the pressing problem of accountability and participation in the Anglo-Indian educational system. These are notions which are located within democracy. Democracy by its very nature has accountability built into its framework - at least that is the theory.

Anglo-Indians are represented in Parliament and in the state legislatures. These representatives are nominated by the President of India and the Chief Ministers of the states respectively. However, since Independence there is a growing concern that the Members of Parliament have insulated themselves from the Anglo-Indian community. Consequently they have failed to respond to those whose needs they are supposed to serve.

Efforts have been made to seek Members of Parliament who are not members of the powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association. These viewpoints have been discussed by the various associations. The researcher conducted a correspondence with the associations in India. Information about the associations are contained in this correspondence and the findings of the field study conducted in India in 1990 detailed in Chapter 6.

The Anglo-Indian educational system is the "social instrument" of the community. It is the "distributor of life's chances" and the schools act the part of a "cultural transmission of values". (74) The Anglo-Indian political and educational system is locked into its community's hopes and aspirations for its future survival.

In the final section, conclusions are drawn from this analysis. In particular, an examination is made of the rapid expansion of Anglo-Indian schools and the problems that exist in the teaching of Indian languages and Christianity. The chapter argues for a change in teaching methods in the classrooms of Anglo-Indian schools.

5. Conclusions

This chapter offered a revisionist viewpoint of Anglo-Indian educational history which challenges the importance these schools play in educating Anglo-Indians in the twentieth century. The chapter documents the reports and the educational reformers in British India and independent India. It employs historical arguments about the intellectual arena for the debates about strategies which failed to increase educational attainment levels for Anglo-Indians.

The historical evidence of this chapter suggests that the structure of Anglo-Indian schooling for Anglo-Indians has not changed over time to accommodate the spirit of free enterprise and integration in modern India. This chapter described the three crucial influences or driving forces which determined the historical development of these schools in the twentieth century. They were the Anglo-Indian's ethnicity, language and religion.

The ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian is defined in the Constitution of India. Since the 1961 Census of India, Anglo-Indians are counted under Christians. They have thus lost their separate status which they enjoyed since 1911. As a consequence, there is currently no official number of the size of the community. This has raised further questions about "who" is an Anglo-Indian. The chapter

raises the issue of educational politics and policies of Anglo-Indian associations. These associations are still having problems accepting one another as Anglo-Indians. Thus, their political voice was muted.

By 1990, the Anglo-Indian community did not possess a strong collective organization which could champion their cause politically. The limited vision of Anglo-Indian leaders had reduced the Anglo-Indian educational system to a capitalist enterprise of expansionism. Anglo-Indian politicians had entered an increasingly open educational market which catered only to wealthy Indians.

In 1954, after the successful Bombay Schools' Case, the main impetus for educational change was not the elimination of poverty or increasing occupational skills for Anglo-Indians. Rather, the schools promoted the education of wealthy Indians, who now flocked to the schools in ever increasing numbers to be educated in the English language. These Indian students dictated the curriculum outcomes for Anglo-Indian students.

Most significant, however were the new arrangements within Anglo-Indian schools which hindered the productive process. (75) Instead of Anglo-Indian students learning English as language one because it was their mother tongue, they learned English as a second language two. During Indian language classes, instead of learning an Indian language as language two, they were taught Indian languages as language one.

The Kothari Commission's Report (1964-1966) stressed integration of the Anglo-Indian community with the majority Indians. The three-language-formula of English, a state or regional language and Hindi was introduced in Anglo-Indian schools. The report was visionary, but it did not generate a more equal distribution of educational credentials between Anglo-Indians and Indians.

The Indians learned English, a state or regional language and Hindi. The Anglo-Indians learned English as language two, a state or regional language and Hindi as language one. Anglo-Indian students dropped out of secondary education. The productive processes of the Anglo-Indian schools were producing positive results for the Indians but negative results for Anglo-Indians. (76)

The chapter outlined the expansion of Anglo-Indian schools by Christian missionaries in British India and Anglo-Indian politicians and entrepreneurs in independent India. In British India the expansion was linked to Christian missionary zeal to spread the faith. In independent India the expansion was sparked by demographic changes due to emigration.

By 1990, the dual curriculum of Christianity and ethics was taught separately to Christians and non Christians. Christianity was not taught in the schools during the school timetable but during a "hurried half-hour snatched either before or after school". (77) The religious educational policy of Anglo-Indian schools produced a non-integrative educational experience for Anglo-Indians.

Educational disadvantage cannot be attributed to the educational policies of the Government of India. The various Education Commissions have supported the rights of the Anglo-Indian community to administer and maintain their own schools. The Anglo-Indians have significantly failed to grasp these opportunities and make use of this support.

Certainly a dramatic and visible shift of Anglo-Indian educational policies and resources to support Anglo-Indians in their own schools was never made. The schools justified a social order which validated Anglo-Indian failure.

One of the main ideas being pursued in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole is that, Anglo-Indians had been isolated from mainstream Indian culture in their schools. Anglo-Indians were not encouraged to learn Indian languages or understand India's religions.

The unavoidable outcome of this historical interpretation is that Anglo-Indians continue to be marginalised and rarely hold decision-making power in elite professional occupations. There have been no educational alternatives which addresses these basic facts. There was no organization: although, there were many Anglo-Indian organizations. There was no national policy of educational integration for Anglo-Indians.

By 1990, without exception, the Anglo-Indian schools were instrumental in shaping attitudes to education in the community. These could be attributed to the culturally loaded ethos of the school. Covert rather than overt class bias had been further identified in the expectation of teachers. This resulted in Anglo-Indians being differentially tracked into educationally terminal compensatory vocational education.

By 1990, Anglo-Indian students had inherited a culture of poverty and failure in their own schools. Academically successful and wealthy Indian students had created a facade phenomenon of success in Anglo-Indian schools. By 1990, the schools were more accountable to the Indian students than to the Anglo-Indian students. Accountability is a legitimate demand of the National Policy in Education (1986) and so is participation.

A situation of disadvantage has been identified in this chapter. It is the interpretation of this chapter that, innovation is required of Anglo-Indian schools to change the internal organisation of the delivery of the language

and religion curriculum. The first will decrease the number of Anglo-Indian failures and the second will increase participation and understanding between Indians and Anglo-Indians in the schools.

There seems little doubt that both Gidney and Anthony shaped the Anglo-Indian community educationally and politically. It is possible to argue that there is now in India a discontinuity or a potential discontinuity where restructuring is possible. What does seem probable is that the opportunity window for successful training and desired economic outcomes for Anglo-Indians may now be here in the last decade of the century.

If, any useful reform was to take place it was essential to ascertain the state of Anglo-Indian education at the present time. This task was a major one in this research and is the concern of the remaining chapters. However, at this point in the thesis, it is important to make clear the methodologies involved in the data collection. There is a significant difference in the methods adopted in the first, historical part of the thesis and the next section.

The next chapter describes the process of selecting an effective research methodology to answer some of the questions thrown up by the historical evidence in chapters one to four. The methodology adopted had to provide the researcher with empirical evidence as to whether Anglo-Indians actually were failing in their own schools.

CHAPTER FOUR

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Statistics taken from the Fourth Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in India, 1897-1902, and the Fifth Quinquennial Report on the Progress of Education in India, 1902-1907 London: HMSO

(2) The comment about the unsuitability of the Cambridge examinations was made on page 85 in a reply by the Anglo-Indian leader, Sir Henry Gidney (pp.83-7) to Anderson's paper. Gidney questioned the domination of the educational syndicate at Cambridge. See, Anderson, G. (1939) Anglo-Indian Education THE ASIATIC REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol. 35 pp.71-96.

These pages include the article and the replies from Sir Henry Gidney, Lord Hailey, Sir Campbell Rhodes, Rev. A.E. Scipio, Mr. Littlehailes, Bishop Chatterton, Lord Goschen. The Dean of Manchester sent a reply in writing to the conference. A joint meeting of the Association and the Overseas League was held at Overseas House on Tuesday, December 6, 1938,when a paper entitled "Anglo-Indian Education" was read by Sir George Anderson, C.S.I., C.I.E. His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, G.C.V.O. was in the chair.

See also, Altbach, P.G. (1987) Higher Education in the Third World London: Sangam Books Ltd. (p.10 and p.214). Altbach argues that most Third World academic systems inherited a curriculum heavily weighted toward the "humanities and organized in the classical European manner. The assumptions of the latter were that students came from a highly educated elite." (p.30) see also, Gilbert, I. (1972) The Indian Academic Profession: The Origins of a Tradition of Subordination MINERVA 10 (July 1972) pp.384-411; see also, Sharma, S.R. (1979) American Influence on Indian Education New Delhi: Raaj Prakashan. (p.3)

See also, Appendix 6 for an analysis of these examinations. The earliest papers sent to India were in December 1906.

(3) Graham, J.A. (1934) The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November 23 pp.21-46

(4) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.73-4); see also, Sixth Quinquennial Report on the Progress of

Education in India, 1907-1912 London: HMSO

(5) Govt. of India Act 1919 (Indianisation of the Services) in Chatterjee, E. P. (1982) Adaptation In A Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University. Montreal, Quebec. Canada Microfilm.

(6) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.4); see also, Anthony, F. (1969) Britain's Betrayal in India New Delhi: Allied Publishers (p.4); see also, Gist, N.P. and Wright, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity London: E.J. Brill (pp.1-2)

(7) East India Constitutional Reforms (1919) App. XI London: HMSO (p.91)

(8) Wilson, M.B. (1929) The Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Race of India Bombay: The Examiner Press.

(9) Abel, E.P. (1988) op. cit., (p.75)

(10) The Butler Conference in 1912 IN: Arden-Wood, W.H. (1913) The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference THE CALCUTTA REVIEW No. 272 April. (p.125); see also, The Laidlaw Conference in 1910 IN: Sixth Quinquennial Review 1907-1912 (1914) Progress of Education In India London: HMSO; see also, The Pickford Committee's Report 1918-1919 IN: Daniell, H.R.H.(1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds. (p.105)

(11) Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.LXXXIII pp.27-42

(12) Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918) London: HMSO Chapter XI (p.274)

(13) The Bombay Schools' Case (1954) in Abel, E.P.(1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.166-9); see also, expansion of Anglo-Indian education in Tiwari, R.(1964) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished Thesis M.A. University of London, Institute of Education. (p.108)

(14) Arden-Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Volume 24 July pp.417-446 (p.429)

(15) Arden-Wood, W.H. (1928) ibid., (p.429)

(16) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.77-8); see also, Indian Statutory Commission Interim Report of the

indian Statutory Commission: Review of Growth of Education in British India (1929) Chapter XI (p.238)

(17) See Appendix 6 for an analysis of the earliest examination papers sent to India in December 1906. The non-integrative examination system contributed towards educational disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community. Educational disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community has been discussed by Anglo-Indian researchers, teachers, Indian educationists, and British Missionaries. In this list, Chatterjee, E.P. (nee Abel); Daniell, H.R.H; DeSouza, A.A; Maher, R; Tiwari, R; and Wilson, M.B; are all Anglo-Indian writers. Edwards was an educationist, Arden-Wood was an Indian Civil Servant and Graham, was a British missionary. See, Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) Adaptation In A Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University. Montreal: University Microfilm. (p.137); see also, Daniell, H.R.H.(1941) op. cit., (p.231); see also, DeSouza, A.A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 New Delhi: Oxford University Press. (p.232); see also, Graham, J.A. (1934) op. cit; see also, The Hartog Commission, Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission: Review of growth of education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission Sept. 1929 Cmd.3407 (p.238).

See also, Maher, R. (1962) These are the Anglo-Indians (Library of the University of Illinois) Swallow Press, Calcutta. (p.53); see also, Wilson, M.B. (1929) op.cit., (pp.106-7); see also, Edwards, T. (1881) 'Eurasians and Poor Europeans in India' THE CALCUTTA REVIEW Vol.LXII Article 11 (p.48); see also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. 24 July (pp.417-446), for a discussion that the "root of the whole trouble is education" (p.437) for the Anglo-Indian community. Arden Wood refers to Anglo-Indians as "loyal subordinates". (p.437)

Malelu and Tiwari were two researchers, who wrote about the Anglo-Indians. Malelu was a sociologist and Tiwari was an educationist. See, Malelu, S.J. (1964) The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality The Ohio State University, Unpublished Ph.D., Dissertation. University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan 65-5660 (pp.28-31); see also, Tiwari, R. (1964) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of London, Institute of Education (p.184).

(18) Great Britain. Parliament. Parliamentary Papers (Commons) 1935-36 Government of India Act 1935 Report of the Committee appointed in connection with the delimitations of constituencies and connected matters. Volume I Report Cmd. 5099; see also, India Round Table Conference. (1933) Third Session 17 November 1932 to 24 December 1932 Education of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled

European Community in India: Report of Committee London: HMSO

(19) Gidney, H. (1934) The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community THE ASIATIC REVIEW 30 (Jan.) pp.27-42 (p.33)

(20) Weston, A.N. (1938) Anglo-Indian Revolutionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church Bangalore: Scripture Literature Press (p.116)

(21) Arden-Wood, W.H. (1928) op. cit., (p.430)

(22) Gidney, H. (1925) 'The future of the Anglo-Indian community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol XXI October pp.657-662 (p.660)

(23) Department of Education and Science (1980b) A View of the Curriculum London: HMSO; see also, Waddington, J. (1985) The School Curriculum in Contention: Content and Control IN: M. Hughes, P. Ribbins and H. Thomas (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston (pp.99-124); see also, Becher, T. and Maclure, S. (1978) The Politics of Curriculum Change London: Hutchinson

(24) The Baptist Mission Report (1959) or The Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958 Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press (pp.7 and pp.22-24)

(25) DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op.cit., (p.242)

(26) This observation was made during the field study conducted by the researcher in India in 1990.

(27) Anthony, F. (1969) op. cit., (p.439)

(28) An inactive policy in language teaching was commented on by Indian educationists, who attributed the lack of communication between Anglo-Indians and other Indians as a bib-integrative attitude. See, H. Heclo. for a discussion on inactive and active policy- making. Heclo, H. (1972) Review Article: Policy Analysis BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL STUDIES 2 (p.84)

(29) The researcher visited the Laidlaw Memorial School in Ketti, Tamil Nadu during the field study in 1990. Anglo-Indian recipients of "freeships" were interviewed in this school.

(30) There was a caring atmosphere in the school which was based on Personal and Social education. The school needed a Special Educational Needs policy in the school. There were too many Anglo-Indian failing to complete twelve years of schooling. The Principal and Headmaster were concerned about the "lack of ambition" displayed by freeship Anglo-

Indian students. The school was based on the "cottage" idea of grouping young people in small "family units". Each of these cottages had a "parent" figure. The researcher lived on the campus and was given full access to the students and staff of this Anglo-Indian school. The school made an important contribution to the field study.

A brief history of Laidlaw Memorial school would not be out of place at this point. The school was built with funds from Sir Robert Laidlaw. It was a "hill-station school", with Indians from the upper- and middle-classes. The fees for tuition and boarding and lodging was approximately Rs.10,000 per year. The school was in Ketti, State of Tamil Nadu in the Nilgiri Hills. It had an excellent plantation of eucalyptus trees, and enough acreage for further development into a University College. The present Principal and Headteacher were both visionaries, and wanted to see Laidlaw Memorial School and Junior College extended into the +3 years of the Indian Educational Formula 10+2+3. See Appendix 3 for photographs of this school.

For a further discussion about extending further education into higher education read DES (1966); Fowler, G. (1982); Pratt, J. and Burgess, T. (1974) and the Robbins Report (1963) Department of Education and Science (DES) (1966) A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges: Higher Education in the Further Education System Cmnd.3006 London: HMSO see also, Fowler, G. (1982) 'May A Thousand Flowers Bloom: The Evolution of the Higher Education System and of Institutions within it' NEW UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY 36(2) Spring Term; see also, Pratt, J. and Burgess, T.(1974) Polytechnics: A Report London: Pitman (p.209); see also, Report of the Committee on Higher Education Appointed by the Prime Minister - Mr. Harold MacMillan (1963) Entitled: Higher Education Chairman: Lord Robbins Vol.I Report, Appendices I-V published separately in six additional volumes. Cmnd.2154. London: HMSO (p.268)

(31) For a discussion of the teaching of English and Christianity in Anglo-Indian schools see, Daniell, H.R.H. (1941) op. cit., (p.64); see also, Law, N.N. (1915) Promotion of Learning in India by European Settlers up to 1800 A.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. (pp.6-7 and pp.80-1); see also, Love, H.D. (1913) Vestiges of old Madras Vol. I London: John Murray (p.499); see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978) English in India: A Historical Study with particular reference to English Education in India Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan p.12, (p.50); see also, Srivastava, B.D. (1963) The Development of Modern Indian Education Bombay: Orient Longman (p.29). For a discussion about elitism and privilege, see, Giddens, A. and Stanworth, P. (1978) 'Elites and Privilege' IN: P. Abrams. Work, Urbanism and Inequality: UK Society Today London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson (pp.206-7).

(32) Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political

Significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London (p.181).

(33) Sharma, S.R. (1979) American Influence on Indian Education New Delhi: Raaj Prakashan (p.3) In 1947, Independent India had inherited a "British model of education" which was primarily designed by Lord Macaulay in 1835 to serve British rule in India. (p.3) Religious organisations have definite aims to safeguard the interests of their members, see, Thirtha, N.V. (1964) National Integration Jullunder: University Publishers (p.33); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) ibid., (p.182)

See also, Ashby, E. (1966) Universities, British, Indian, African Harvard University Press. The 1950s marked the time when Indian educationists were examining the curriculum in schools, because the British system of education was introduced in "ignorance and complete defiance of the existing social order". (p.47)

Bayer, J.M. (1986) A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the English spoken by the Anglo-Indians in Mysore City. Manasagangotri, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages. (pp.128-34). For a discussion of Anglo-Indians and their language read Bayer, J.M. She is an Anglo-Indian who works at the Central Institute of Indian Languages. She met the researcher in Mysore and was interviewed with another Anglo-Indian woman who was a politician. See also, Craig, H.I. (1990) Under the Old School Topee Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) (p.19, p.52 and p.93). Craig, H.I. is an English woman resident in Britain. Her book is anecdotal and rich with reminiscences of an education which was elitist and reflected British values attitudes and beliefs. See, Das Gupta, (1970) Language Conflict and National Development: Group Politics and National Language Policy in India Bombay: Oxford University Press.

(34) DeSouza, (1976) op. cit., (p.238 and p.260); see also, Thirtha, N.V. (1962) Babel: Language Dilemma in Indian Schools Madras: M. Seshachalam & Co. (p.55); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) op.cit., (p.182); see also, Yadav, R.K. (1966) The Indian Language Problem New Delhi: National Publishing House (p.75); see also, Vaikuntham, Y. (1982) Educational Social Change in South India: Andhra 1880-1920 Madras: New Era Publications; see also, Majumder, B.P. (1973) First Fruits of English Education (1817-1857) Calcutta: Bookland p. Ltd. Majumder, B.P. offers an account of westernised education and Christianity in Anglo-Indian schools. See also, Mathur, S.S. (1976) A Sociological Approach to Indian Education Agra: Vinod Pustak Mandir (p.255) Mathur, S.S. writes about the high status of an education in English medium schools and its popularity among wealthy Indian families.

(35) Saxena, S. (1975) Sociological Perspectives in Indian

Education New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications. The National Integration Conference in 1961 stated that there were four forces which undermined integration in India. They were communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguism. (p.162) See also, Thirtha, N.V. (1962) op. cit., Bitterness and conflict exists between castes "and are much more serious today than pre-Independence." (p.8) See, Srinivas, M.N. (ed) (1965) India's Villages West Bengal Govt. Press.

The Indian educationist Mr. J.P. Naik discusses national integration and states that, "unfortunately little work has been done to guide the schools and teachers in evolving practical programmes to promote these values." (p.55) See, Naik, J.P. (1975) Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education New Delhi: Allied Publishers. (The Tagore Memorial Lectures delivered at the University of Poona on 23, 24, 15 August 1975)

(36) Mr.A. A. D'Souza an Anglo-Indian Inspector for Anglo-Indian schools discusses the issue of Anglo-Indian schools developing a more pro-Indian curriculum. He says, "much more needs to be done before Anglo-Indian schools are a true microcosm of the larger cultural macrocosm outside their walls, and before there is a true identity of interests and community of feeling and outlook between the life of these schools and the rich and complex life outside the school walls". (p.307) A.A.D'Souza (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 Delhi: Oxford University Press

(37) Daniell, H.R.H. (1942) op. cit., (pp.229-30); see also, Tiwari, R. (1964) op. cit., (pp.180-2)

(38) Anthony, F. (1969) op. cit., (p.423)

(39) Report of the Education Commission (1964-1966) Education and National Development Ministry of Education Govt. of India. Chairman Prof. D.S.Kothari, Chairman, University Grants Commission. New Delhi. (pp.613-4). The six Education Commissions which preceded the Kothari Commission were:-
(1) The Hunter Commission or the Indian Education Commission (1882-83) enquired into the principles of the Education Despatch of 1854, and laid emphasis on elementary education.
(2) The Raleigh Commission or the Indian Universities Commission (1902) dealt with the problems of University Education.
(3) The Sadler Commission or the Calcutta University Commission (1917) also dealt with University problems.
(4) The Radhakrishnan Commission or the University Education Commission (1948-49), the third one in a row was concerned with University problems.
(5) The Mudaliar Commission or the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) also had an impact on Anglo-Indian

Education.
(6) The Chatterji Commission or the Sanskrit Commission (1956-57) considered the present state of Sanskrit education in India.
(7) The Kothari Commission or the Education Commission (1964-66) had seventeen members, from an international group of educationists. See also, Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) Development of Education in India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents before and after Independence New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co.

(40) Naik, J.P. (1982) The Education Commission and After New Delhi: Allied Publishers; see also, Shukla, P.D. (1976) Towards the New Pattern of Education in India New Delhi: Sterling Publisher

(41) The Central Advisory Board of Education's Report (1965) The Study of English in India Ministry of Education, Govt. of India (pp.12-13); see also, Waddington, J.(1985) 'The School Curriculum in Contention: Content and Control' IN: M. Hughes, P.Ribbins, H.Thomas. (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (p.104)

(42) Shukla, P.D. (1976) op. cit., (p.42); and, the reference made in the EDUCATION QUARTERLY (1978) about the number formula in Indian education, by the same author. See also Shukla, P.D. (1987)

(43) This comment was made by Anglo-Indian educationists, Indian educationists and Social Scientists and Anglo-Indian students in Anglo-Indian school during the field study conducted in 1990.

(44) In 1956, the researcher was in an Anglo-Indian school in Bombay. The teaching methods had remained unchanged since 1956. The researcher observed teaching methods in Anglo-Indian schools during the field study in 1990.

(45) During 1989-90, the researcher had received letters from Anglo-Indians who were teaching in Anglo-Indian schools, and from Anglo-Indians who had experienced Christianity lessons or from Indians who had experienced "morals" in an Anglo-Indian school. The first excerpt is taken from an Anglo-Indian teacher's letter. The second excerpt is taken from an evaluation form which respondents completed after the interview.

> Religious education is conducted as a hole in the corner affair. The students either eye the clock furtively before school, or look bored and impatient after school.
>
> Sometimes we were envious because we could not join a football or netball match after school hours. We Catholic students joked about it, and offered it up as penance!

Anglo-Indian teachers were in agreement that there was no policy on religious education, except the guidelines given by the Indian government. Religion could not be taught during school hours. Christianity was taught outside school hours to Anglo-Indians. Indian students who attended these lessons, did so by parental choice. Indian students enjoyed the lessons on Christian parables.

One teacher expressed the opinion that time and opportunities were

> ... being missed to integrate Anglo-Indians and Indians and increase understanding, but we are at a loss of what to do with the children, apart from drawing pictures about Bible stories, watching a video or singing hymns.

There was obviously a need to research this area of the curriculum in Anglo-Indian schools.

(46) Anglo-Indian teachers are aware of their failure to teach Anglo-Indians to become bilingual and multilingual. The majority of teachers showed an interest in the researcher's plan to create a Theory and Practice for Anglo-Indian schools to eliminate disadvantage. One teacher stated,

> I'm willing to give it a go in my class, but make it easy to understand, you know, step one, then step two etc.,.

A Principal in an Anglo-Indian school said,

> I really read too many descriptions, but rarely a prescription of what needs to be done. I am willing to become involved in any ideas you come up with, because we do have a problem.

Some of the teachers had heard of Action Research when change or an improvement had to be made in teaching or learning. One group was interested in collaborating with the researcher in a sustained relationship over a period of time while the quality of teaching and learning is in the process of being improved. See, Bolam, B. (1974b) Teachers as Innovators Paper for the OECD. DAS/EID/74.53 Paris: OECD p.8

(47) National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) (1979) Socially Useful Productive Work Curriculum: Developing and Implementing the Programme New Delhi: NCERT (p.62); see also, Buch, M.B. and Patel, P.A. (1979) Towards Word Centred Education Ahmedabad, India: Gujarat Vidyapith.

(48) Brennan N.L. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University, Ann Arbor University Microfilms International:

Mi. 48106. Brennan, N.L. lived in Madras during her study of the Anglo-Indians. Her thesis was the second one after the Baptist Report (1959) which offered statistics based on empirical evidence on Anglo-Indian unemployment and poverty in India.

(49) National Policy on Education (1986) Programme of Action New Delhi: Govt. of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education (p.114 and p.159)

(50) National Policy on Education (1986) ibid., (p.114 and p.159)

(51) National Council of Educational Research and Training (1988) National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education: A Framework Revised Edition New Delhi: NCERT; see also, Aggarwal, J.C. (1990) Curriculum Reforms in India: World Overview Delhi: Doaba House (pp.216-7)

(52) Reynolds, D. and Reid, K. (1988) 'Beyond the subject monolith: subject traditions and sub-cultures' IN: A. Westoby (ed.) Culture and Power in Education Organizations Milton Keynes: Open University Press (pp.172-3)

(53) Robinson, T. (1987) 'TVEI - the one that got away?' IN: C. Flint (ed.) Changing Education Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Publishers Ltd (p.112)

(54) Sharma, S.R. (1991) National Policy on Education: Education for an Enlightened and Humane Society Two Volumes New Delhi: Anmol Publications (pp.86-7 and p.101)

(55) Aggarwal, J.C. (1991) Ramamurti Report, 1990 on National Policy on Education in India, Major Recommendations, Evaluation and Corrective Measures Delhi: Doaba House (p.50)

(56) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.106)

(57) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.120)

(58) Government of India, (1928) Home Department (Est.) F 1643 LAI

(59) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (pp.144-45)

(60) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.133)

(61) ANGLO-INDIAN REVIEW (1928) Vol. XVIII No. 7 July (pp.54-5)

(62) Anthony, F. (1969) Britain's Betrayal in India New Delhi: Allied Publishers. (p.150)

(63) THE REVIEW (1977) November-December (p.6)

(64) DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op. cit., (p.30)

(65) In 1954 the Education Department of Bombay state issued a directive limiting admission to Anglo-Indian schools in the State to Anglo-Indians and children of citizens of non-Asiatic descent. This was part of its attempt to replace English by Hindi as the medium of instruction in all Bombay schools and colleges. See, AIR 1954, Supreme Court 561 (pp.568-9); see also, Anglo-Indian Review, June, 1954, (p.2); see also, Anthony, (1969) op.cit., (p.284); see also, Anglo-Indian Review, June, 1954. (p.2)

Anthony's place in Anglo-Indian history is assured. The Constitutional battle was brilliantly argued by him in the Bombay High Court and later in the Supreme Court. The Bombay Schools' Case was of significance to all Anglo-Indian schools in India, because it offered Anglo-Indian schools the opportunity to expand their schools. The schools could now offer an education in English to Indians.

The Indians had entered Anglo-Indian schools and their needs dictated the curriculum of these schools. History does not record this important detail in this light, and one needs either to be an Anglo-Indian who experienced the trauma of the curriculum shift in the fifties, or an extremely perceptive researcher who can read between the lines.

(66) DeSouza, A.A. (1976) op. cit., (p.236 and p.238); see also, Kumar, A.(1985) Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution New Delhi: Deep & Deep Publications (p.130 and p.240); see also, Rudolph, S.H., and Rudolph, L.I. (eds) (1972). The Bombay Schools' Case assured the Anglo-Indians that their educational system would remain intact and continue to be part of the protected, autonomous sector of Indian education. The case also declared that the community was a religious as well as a linguistic minority by the Supreme Court, and that the majority cannot force its will upon the minority, because this results in denying the minority the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

(67) Handy, C.B. (1987) Understanding Organizations Third Edition London: Penguin Books Ltd. (pp. 188-9). Handy, C.B. deals with the management of change. Much of the literature on groups is linked to motivation and leadership.

(68) This observation was made during the field study conducted in India in 1990.

(69) Handy, C.B. (1987) op. cit., (p.193)

(70) Duke, D.L. et.al., (1980) Teachers and shared

decision making: The costs and benefits of involvement. EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION QUARTERLY 1b (1) Winter. (p.104); see also, Nias, J. (1972) Pseudo-participation and the success of innovation in the introduction of the B.Ed. SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW 20(2) (p.175); see also, Noble, T. and Pym, B. (1970) Collegial authority and the receding locus of power. BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY 21 December. (p.436); see also, Pratt, S. (1981) 'Subordinate strategies of interaction in the management of schools' EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION 9(2) (p.76); see also, Ramsay, H. (1977) 'Cycles of Control' SOCIOLOGY 11(3) September (p.496); see also, Thorp,J. (1983) Coping with Community: A view of Management in a Community Primary School. Unpublished M.Ed. Diss. University of Birmingham;

(71) Elliott, J. (1976) 'Democratic evaluation as social criticism: or, Putting the judgement back into evaluation' IN: N.Norris (ed.) SAFARI 2 Theory in Practice CARE Occasional Publication No.4 (p.193 and 199).

(72) The comments made in this paragraph were given verbatim to the researcher during an interview held in Madras in 1990. See, Khubchandani, L.M. (1983) Plural Languages, Plural Cultures: Communication, Identity, and Sociopolitical Change in Contemporary India. University of Hawaii Press: East-West Centre Book (p.81).

Anglo-Indians must become multilingual in India. Anglo-Indians need to use Indian languages as efficient tools for "intragroup and intergroup contact in a multilingual nation." (p.81) See also, Rutter,M. et.al., (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and their effects on Children. London: Open Books; See also, Thomas, (1985). op.cit., (p.144).

See also, the following Indian writers on Education in India, who made specific references to achieving equal opportunities, increasing emotional integration and learning the English language. Naik, J.P. (1982) The Education Commission and After New Delhi: Allied Publishers (p.89); Majumder,B.P. (1973) First Fruits of English Education (1817-1857) Calcutta: Bookland P.Ltd. (p.113); Mathur, S.S. (1982) A Sociological Approach to Indian Education Agra (India): Vinod Pustak Mandir (p.255); Naik, J.P. (1975) Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education The Tagore Memorial Lectures delivered at the University of Poona on 23, 24, 25 August 1975; see also, Saxena,S. (1975) Sociological Perspectives in Indian Education New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications (p.130 and p.162); Srinivas, M.N. (ed.) (1965) India's Villages Calcutta: West Bengal Government Press (p.8); Thirtha, N.V. (1964) National Integration Jullunder (India): Jullunder University Publishers (p.33); Vaikunathan, Y. (1982) Educational Social Change in South India: Andhra 1880-1920 Madras: New-Era Publications (p.251)

(73) Kaplan, A. (1964) 'Power in Perspective' IN: R.L. Khan and E. Boulding (Eds.) Power and Conflict in Organisations London: Tavistock Publications; see also, Weber, M. (1946) Essays in Sociology London: Oxford University Press (p.80)

(74) Silver,H. (1980) Education and the Social Condition London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (p.19); see also, Thorp, J. (1985) 'Accountability Versus Participation?' IN: M. Hughes,. P. Ribbins,. and H. Thomas Managing Education: The System and the Institutions London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (p.414)

(75) Thomas, H.(1985) 'Provision, Process and Performance in Compulsory Education: An Economic Perspective on Changing Enrolment' IN: M. Hughes, P. Ribbins, and H. Thomas. Managing Education: The System and the Institutions London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. (p.125)

(76) An observation made during the field study of the number of drop outs in Anglo-Indian schools.

(77) This comment was made by a teacher during the field study in Calcutta.

(78) Teachers were asked to submit their teaching plans for Indian languages and religion, but no teachers submitted any detailed plans. There were no whole school policies

> ... to tackle the failures among Anglo-Indian students, because it has been going on for such a long time, we've just got used to them failing the classes. (Comment made by an Anglo-Indian teacher in Maharashtra).

Teachers were admitting that they taught Indian languages to a whole class, and they were frustrated with Anglo-Indians who could not "keep up with the rest of the class." (Comment made by an Indian teacher in Karnataka). There were no special needs classes in Indian languages for Anglo-Indians.
Religion was

> ... kept to the peripheral, although we are Christian schools, there is little time for it, and we really have not thought of any plans to integrate Anglo-Indians with Indian students through a study of India's religions. I don't think it has occurred to any of us. Religion is such a sensitive subject.

(Comment made by a teacher in Maharashtra).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY: THE HISTORY OF ANGLO-INDIAN EDUCATION AND THE SURVEY METHOD FOR THE FIELD STUDY

1.Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is one. It outlines the plan used for seeking fresh evidence and re-examining historical evidence of the history of Anglo-Indian education from the fifteenth to the twentieth century. It discusses the methodological issues raised by the contemporary investigation of Anglo-Indian education.

This chapter will argue that, in order to study the present day disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community in India, two distinct but overlapping fields of enquiry needed to be studied.

(1) It was vital to discover whether or not educational disadvantage was rooted in the historical background of this minority community.
(2) The social reality of the classrooms and the educational experience of Anglo-Indian students in their own schools needed to be investigated.

The structure of this chapter offers an analysis of the various research methods evaluated by the researcher and summarises the processes that led to adopting a particular research method.

This structure is:

(i) The evolution of the plan for researching and writing the history of Anglo-Indian schools from the fifteenth to the twentieth century

(ii) The seven research methods studied by the researcher

(iii) The survey mode for empirical research

(iv) The research question

(v) The available resources, the time scale and sample frame: Constraints on the design decision

(vi) An overview of the population sample

(vii) Conclusions.

2. The evolution of the plan for researching and writing the history of Anglo-Indian schools from the fifteenth to the twentieth century

Historical research involves the systematic and objective collection of facts. These are evaluated and a synthesis of the evidence enables a researcher to draw conclusions about past events. In seeking data from documents, records, personal observations and the experiences of others the researcher has to contend with inadequate information. (1) The task was not an easy one and demanded a fair level of lateral thinking.

The act of historical research involves:

- limiting the area of study;
- formulating the reason why this area has been identified;
- collecting, verifying, analyzing, selecting the data and,
- then answering the question to the reason why the historical research took place. (2)

The first step of the historical research was to carry out

an exhaustive computer search of the available literature on Anglo-Indians using American, Australian, British and Canadian databases. As a computer search of Indian databases was not possible, a manual search was substituted.

This very wide ranging, thorough and systematic search yielded very few references about Anglo-Indians. The researcher's next step was to contact as many Anglo-Indians as possible, on an international basis, who might have or had access to a bibliography or possess a library of books.

The researcher inherited a library of books from the estate of the late Vernon Charles Selkirk. He was the researcher's brother who collected books about India. An extensive bibliography on Anglo-Indian culture and history, was sent to the researcher by Withbert Payne, an Anglo-Indian living in the United States of America.

The Selkirk library, the Payne bibliography and the results of the manual and computer searches enabled the researcher to arrange inter-library loans, including those from British, American and Canadian University libraries, to build up an archive of information about the Anglo-Indians.

The selection of information from the books, newspaper clippings, journals, letters and anecdotal descriptions of life in Anglo-Indian schools in India written by Anglo-Indians who were either students or teachers in Anglo-Indian schools proved invaluable. Indian educationists, journalists and social scientists also made their contribution to the accumulation of material about the community.

The next section describes the problem of bridging the sociological and geographical imaginations in the historical research.

2.1. The impact of sociological and geographical imaginations on the research methodology.

The geographical imagination or "spatial consciousness" enables an individual to understand and recognize the effect the role of the environment plays in his/her life. A sociological imagination is the common bond of social sciences, which includes anthropology, psychology, economics, social philosophy and history. (3) The sociological imagination has an extensive literature. It has results of surveys conducted all over the world and theories which have been well-articulated. (4)

The sociological processes of Anglo-Indians in these geographical spaces, although investigated in the past, had not recognised the link between a sociological imagination and a geographical imagination. Since previous research had completely neglected this analysis, the researcher was in uncharted waters.

The geographical space and the sociological implications of the history of the community and its schools had its roots in the fifteenth century. The researcher attempted to understand disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community by investigating the link between the geographical and sociological imaginations of Anglo-Indian schools.

The historical disadvantage in Anglo-Indian schools linked the school and the community. The school and the community were historically affected by the environment. (5) The community lived in microcosmic ethnic colonies. The processes of parochial and inward-looking "competition and accommodation" (6) in these ethnic colonies had to be investigated. The ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian determined "the size and ecological organization" (7) of the community

in their colonies.

The research methodology had to be selected to

- enable the researcher to investigate the geographical space of the Anglo-Indian child's home in a slum;
- facilitate an understanding of the sociological processes in the privileged environment of an elitist school; and,
- bridge these two imaginations in an investigation

of educational disadvantage. (8)

The transition between the sociological and geographical imaginations had to be given detailed consideration. A comprehensive study of all relevant educational research which offered an opportunity to bridge the two imaginations had to be completed. Selecting a suitable research methodology for use on the field trip became an important task for the researcher.

In addition to the sociological and geographical links the methodology had to be efficient within a limited time scale and budget for the field research. It also had to combine the sociological and geographical imaginations with the historical evidence before selecting a suitable research methodology for the field study. (9)

3. The seven research methods studied by the researcher

Research methods in education are different from the problem-solving technique of experience or common-sense knowing. (10) Each research method is described briefly.

(1) INDUCTIVE-DEDUCTIVE RESEARCH: This method requires the researcher to formulate a hypothesis which would be proved,

or disproved, by observation. The researcher's twelve years' experience in an Anglo-Indian school would have biased her classroom observations thus influencing her deductions. So, this method on its own was found to be unsuitable. (11)

(2) SELF-CORRECTING RESEARCH: This research method has built-in mechanisms to protect the researcher from error as far as is humanly possible. This self-corrective function is important, and ensures that incorrect results will be identified. Since this type of research does not accept previous experience it was rejected. (12)

(3) CORRELATIONAL RESEARCH: This research did not necessarily establish cause-and-effect relationships which were sought by the researcher in the classroom. Correlational Research was found to be inappropriate. (13)

(4) ACTION RESEARCH: This research is usually seen in a change situation, and usually concerns teachers working internally together with the researcher on a collaborative basis. (14) Action Research demanded a long span of time to carry out the required processes. The main reason for eliminating Action Research was financial - limited resources dictating as tight a time scale as possible within which to complete the research. (15)

(5) CASE STUDIES: This type of research probes deeply into the multifarious phenomena that constitutes the life of a school. Case Studies establish generalisations about all the types of educational institutions to which that particular unit or institution belongs. (16)

Case Studies of the various schools would have made an excellent choice, but case studies also require a long span of time. The example case studies which were examined offered an insight into the external demands which were

made on schools from a variety of sources. These were often in conflict with each other, especially at a time of limited and even declining resources. (17)

(6) SPACE TRIANGULATION: Space triangulation is a method of data collection which helps to explain the complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one angle. It makes use of quantitative and qualitative data. This type of research also attempts to overcome the parochialism of studies conducted in the same country or subculture, by making use of cross-cultural techniques. (18)

Space Triangulation was used by the researcher in 1984. (19) This would have had its advantages in comparing language and religious policies in Anglo-Indian schools in India, but the schools were separated by hundreds of miles, and it would have been costly in financial terms and time. Space Triangulation was eliminated because of the subjective nature of much of the qualitative interpretation. There were restrictions on time and finance. (20)

(7) EMPIRICAL RESEARCH: This research carefully assesses objective reality, by calculating and judging it against subjective belief. (21) In this type of research the researcher can turn to experience for validation. Empirical research was found to have all the necessary qualities for this research. A decision was taken to use empirical research, because it offered the researcher an opportunity to use experience also for validation.

The researcher's Anglo-Indianess was an asset to be exploited and to be offset against the limitation on resources. Empirical research allowed the researcher the freedom to be subjective after carefully assessing, calculating and judging evidence in an objective way.

So, these points further reinforced her decision to opt for empirical research. Had resources been available, the researcher would have wished to supplement this with Case Studies and Action Research. Space Triangulation could be adapted to Case Studies and Action Research.

The next section explains the reason for selecting the Survey Mode for Empirical Research.

4. The Survey Mode for Empirical Research

Four different examples of surveys were carefully studied (22) in order to arrive at a suitable mode for designing the field study in India. Each example was studied, keeping in mind the main purpose of the thesis, which was an investigation into the disadvantage suffered by Anglo-Indian students in classrooms in Anglo-Indian schools. The time factor played an important part in selecting the empirical research survey mode. It offered the most efficient mode for designing the field research.

The Survey Methodology was selected because a Survey could be conducted in Anglo-Indian schools during July and August 1990. Schools remain open and as this is not a popular season for a vacation it would be easier to contact Anglo-Indians and Indians in their homes or places of work.

The only problem was access to the schools in the hill-stations. The airline offered access to the foot hill townships, and access to the hill-stations had to be made by train and coach. Therefore, from a financial and time-saving point of view, the Survey method was found to be the most practical and efficient of all the other research methods.

There were four other reasons for selecting the survey method.

(1) It was found to be better suited to learn factual details. (23)

(2) It provided a tool to stand neutrally at the centre and eliminate the bias of Webbs' "law of the mind", which is to see only that which the researcher wants to see and not those issues which appear to tell against the researcher's own biases. (24)

(3) Surveys proceed through well-defined stages, and this meant that the time factor and expense of the field trip could all be identified and decided upon before conducting the survey. An accurate itemisation could be made of all the stages of the survey. (25)

(4) The researcher's previous experience in 1986 and 1988 in conducting two surveys in Britain among Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. (26)

Once the decision was taken to design the field research as a survey, fifteen major educational surveys in Britain and the United States of America were studied. This was completed in order to understand all the advantages and disadvantages of the survey mode. In addition, it was possible to obtain factual evidence concerning the success of a survey mode. Of the surveys conducted, all examined various aspects of educational disadvantage. (27)

A significant problem requires good research. Social science involves problem solving which will provide a means to answer questions about the social world in a disciplined and logical investigation.

The problem of deprivation and poverty as seen by members of the Anglo-Indian community in India and Britain, politicians, journalists and members of Religious Orders in

India, was an issue of social reality. The urge to inquire into these problems provided the impetus for this research. Problems give rise to a research question, which does no more than identify areas of concern and asks the question **"why?"** (28)

From the original problem of disadvantage in the community one moves to a researchable problem, via an interplay of different sources which are extremely difficult to capture adequately, namely: insight, hunches and imagination. Disadvantage is then studied at a higher level, in an attempt to develop current knowledge about disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian classroom. The research explores why certain events or conditions occur. (29)

All these aspects play a part in defining the research question(s) which should be of interest not only to the individual researcher but to some recognized section of the educational community. It is usually more likely that the research question has been developed from an extension of an already completed project. This is what occurred in this research, because this research developed out of the findings of research conducted in Britain in 1988. (30)

The next section describes the research question which was based on finding out reasons for present-day disadvantage in Anglo-Indian classrooms.

5. The Research Question

The question was:

> **Why is the Anglo-Indian community being labelled "backward" (31) in India today, and is this "backward" tag linked to educational backwardness?**

Three key issues were constructed from the main research question (c.f. discussion above Ch.1 pp.30-1). These issues were more operational than statements of the problem. The issues lent to the research study a definite and specific structure. (32)

The next section discusses the structure of the questionnaire.

5.1. The six interview questions

(1) **What is the size of the Anglo-Indian community in India today?**
(2) **What do you understand by "educationally backward"?**
(3) **What is your perspective of the Anglo-Indian community's need with regard to language and education?**
(4) **What is your viewpoint about the Anglo-Indian community's need with regard to religion and education?**
(5) **What impact does the class or caste system have on the educational aspirations of the Anglo-Indian community?**
(6) **What are the factors which impinge upon the educational attainment of the Anglo-Indians in India today?**

The researcher being an Anglo-Indian was aware of the controversy of the first two questions. Repeating the questions by wording them differently was deliberate. If, the first two questions elicited vague answers, there was a likelihood that answers would be available by the time the interview had reached questions five and six. Eventually, the word "backward" was eliminated from the questions, and "disadvantage" was used, because it would have been too controversial to use "backward". Questions five and six are also linked to backwardness, but were

worded differently to question two.

The next section describes the resources, time scale and sample frame which placed constraints on the design of the survey mode.

6. The available resources, the time scale and sample frame: Constraints on the design decision

The essential difference between the surveys of 1986/1988 conducted in Britain and the survey in 1990 was the geographical delineation of the target population. The Anglo-Indians in Britain resided in south east England. The Anglo-Indians residing in India were living in cities and towns separated by hundreds of miles. There were eight constraints on the design decision.

Each constraint is described separately, outlining the problems in each area, and the planning needed in order to design the survey.

1. GEOGRAPHICAL CONSTRAINT: The European colonialists settled in various parts of India and married Indian women in the cities, towns and villages of the areas in which they were posted. Traders, missionaries and military personnel each had areas which were spread over the vast sub-continent of India.

Thus, the Anglo-Indian schools and the community of Anglo-Indians were spread all over India. There were "hill-station" and "plains" schools which had to be investigated. The schools were situated in urban and rural areas, and in politically sensitive border states. The travel arrangements would be expensive, because air travel was the most effective means of reaching some of the Anglo-Indian schools and communities. This made the

geographical constraint the most important one to consider in the design decision.

2. THE TIME SCALE CONSTRAINT: The research was undertaken as a part-time student, and the six-week summer vacation in 1990 was the only available time for the fieldwork, i.e. from the last week of July to the first week of September. This is the rainy season or monsoon in India. This added a further complication to the fieldwork, because the monsoon weather is notorious for disrupting carefully laid plans for air, road and rail travel in India.

3. SAMPLE FRAME CONSTRAINT: The sample frame, that is, the list of respondents were Anglo-Indian Christians. In order to find out where they continued to live after Indian Independence it was decided to start with the global population and work down to the sample. The reason for doing this, was that it would be easier to select the sample, if there was evidence that the sample was representative of the Anglo-Indian community. (33)

The researcher's 1986 and 1988 researches used the Snowball sample; that is building up a sample by starting with a small base of informants, and getting from them the names and addresses of other people who shared the same characteristics.

The problem which arose with the Snowball sample, was identifying the working population, which is only accessible if it can be identified, and it can only be identified, if, it is first defined. The sampling error which occurred in the 1988 research was the problem with definition. This was linked to social class. Friends and relatives usually named someone in their own social class. Thus, the sample was restricted and unrepresentative of the Anglo-Indian community in Britain.

A large section of "white" Anglo-Indians classified themselves in Britain as Domiciled Europeans. The "darker brother or sister" was an Anglo-Indian, but the "fairer brother or sister" became a Domiciled European and was therefore excluded. Further, the names and addresses supplied by "informants" tended to be of the same socio-economic class and thus provided a bias to the sample. Thus, from the researcher's experience snowball sampling was unreliable in the Anglo-Indian community and most unfortunately opened up sensitive areas in families. (34)

In seeking a better sampling technique, the researcher alighted on the fact that as all Anglo-Indians are nominally, at least, Christians by religion, the community should be well known to the Christian church hierarchy. The reason for selecting the Roman Catholic Archbishops and the Bishops of the Church of North India and Church of South India was linked to the intensely hierarchical structure of Indian society.

An entrée to the circle of influential Anglo-Indians, at the socio-economic apex of the community, would aid the researcher in obtaining an introduction to, and information about, Anglo-Indians lower down in the socio-economic scale. Thus, this would ensure a vertical slice in the sample. Further, the researcher's introduction to an Anglo-Indian by a Roman Catholic Archbishop or an Anglican Bishop, would most likely flatter and please the Anglo-Indian. This would elicit a positive and helpful response.

The names and addresses of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Bishops in India were given to the researcher by Cardinal Hume's and the Archbishop of Westminster's offices respectively. (35)

In October 1988, the researcher wrote letters to the Archbishops and Bishops in twelve cities including state

capitals seeking the names of prominent Anglo-Indians and the names of the Principals of Anglo-Indian schools. The list of names sent by the Roman Catholic Archbishops and the Anglican Bishops identified members of the Anglo-Indian community and eliminated the necessity for screening interviews, which might have been required to identify members of the community.

The Archbishops and Bishops were at the top end of Anglo-Indian society, and represented a Tall Hierarchy. This Tall Hierarchy with its powerful span of control was kept within certain limits, with its parameters enclosing the Christians in India. All Anglo-Indians are Christian by religion. The combination of the Tall Hierarchy, span of control and limitation of a religious zone, so to speak, made the choice of starting the list with the Archbishops and Bishops a suitable one in order to get a list of Anglo-Indians. (36)

The argument for choosing the administrators of Christianity in purely organizational terms, is that in tall hierarchies, there is always a core of valued employees. Special training and close knowledge of the organization and its competencies have been vested in such people. Their commitment was considered particularly desirable.

The very narrow and tall structure of the Church hierarchy meant that the same letter would pass through many hands; until it reached the level of someone who had the answer and could advise the Archbishop or Bishop. Most of the replies originated from the office of the Archbishop or Bishop, and were signed by the Archbishop or Bishop. Only two letters were signed by a secretary.

Only two respondents did not respond to the request for an interview. The method was therefore very successful. The

researcher gained access to influential Anglo-Indians who were in a position to introduce the researcher to other Anglo-Indians further down the socio-economic scale. Since the Archbishops and Bishops came from most of the Indian States, the sample included members of all the Anglo-Indian associations.

The next section describes the span of control which was necessary in order to limit the sample to Anglo-Indians.

4. SPAN OF CONTROL CONSTRAINT: Each Archbishop and Bishop has a diocese or span of control. These were the boundaries of influence and authority. These spans of control are kept within certain limits. By contacting both Roman Catholic and Anglican Bishops within the same spans of control, there was a much better chance of meeting Christians from all religious denominations.

The second reason was that Archbishops and Bishops have access to influential Christians in India. Their Diocesan network is compellingly pervasive. Although they move in social circles which are far removed from poverty and deprivation, the hierarchy is aware of that at the Parish level. The Bishops would know the Anglo-Indians and Indians who were in authority or wielded power in Parliament or the State Legislative Assemblies.

Allahabad, Hyderabad, Nagpur and Secunderabad were eliminated from the span of control. There were two reasons for the elimination of these cities. The Anglo-Indians who were contacted by the researcher did not respond or responded too late to be included in the itinerary. Twelve cities which came into the span of control were included in the final itinerary. They were:

(1)	Bangalore	(7)	Faridabad
(2)	Bombay	(8)	Ketti
(3)	Calcutta	(9)	Madras
(4)	Cochin	(10)	Mysore
(5)	Coonoor	(11)	New Delhi
(6)	Devlali	(12)	Shillong

These twelve cities were not visited in alphabetical order as they are listed. Bombay was the starting and completion point within this span of control. The map of India in this chapter outlines the anti-clockwise route taken by the researcher.

Replies were received from all the Archbishops and Bishops between November and March 1989. The majority of the letters offered at least two names and addresses of prominent Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Indian Associations or Anglo-Indian schools.

One name was usually an individual, or an Association, or the name of a School and the name of the Principal. The second name was either, another member of a religious order who knew Anglo-Indians, or, were the names of social workers or politicians. A few of the names kept reappearing in the letters, and these Anglo-Indians were obviously well-known in the community.

On receipt of the names and addresses from the Archbishops and Bishops, one hundred and twenty six Anglo-Indians were contacted. These individuals were Anglo-Indian politicians, social workers, Principals of Anglo-Indian schools, Anglo-Indian teachers or the Presidents of the various Anglo-Indian Associations in India. These letters were written between November 1988 and July 1989 and offered information about the thesis and a request for an interview. There were three specific points covered in each letter.

They were:

(1) An outline of the research.
(2) Questions about the community and its education.
(3) A request to stay with either a family or in a school during July and August 1990.

During this period, eighty-four letters were also written via their publishers to Indian educationists, Indian Social Scientists and Indian Journalists, who had either written books or articles, published in India, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. All the books or articles had made specific reference to Anglo-Indian education. An effort was made to write to people whose work was published after 1960.

This method was very effective in making contact with Indian educationists. The replies were encouraging, and either offered further information about the community or indicated a willingness to take part in the survey.

The next section describes the selection of the various groups and individuals. This is called "vertical segmentation".

5. THE VERTICAL SEGMENTATION OF REPLIES: It was not easy to make any decisions about group selection at that early stage. Instead as replies arrived they were "segmented" and placed in separate files numbered 1-6. Each "segment" was entitled:

6. Absolutely necessary
5. Especially important
4. Important
3. Ordinary closeness
2. Unimportant
1. Not desirable.

Professional Anglo-Indians and those in politics were all included in the 4 - 6 vertical segmentation category. (37)

An East Indian school friend in Bandra, Bombay who had attended an Anglo-Indian school with the researcher (1944-1956) volunteered her services as the coordinator in India. All correspondence from respondents written after April 1990 was directed to her. She possessed excellent language skills in English, Hindi and Marathi and was a well known social worker who was deeply interested in the research. Bombay was selected as the first city, because the researcher was familiar with the educational system in Bombay and had been invited by the coordinator to use her home as a working base.

The next section describes the cluster sampling of the target population.

6. CLUSTER SAMPLING CONSTRAINT The target population was widely dispersed. It would have been impractical to select the respondents at random because an inordinate amount of time would have to be spent travelling about to meet them.

A second consideration was the airline ticket for travel in India. It had to be used within four weeks in a clockwise or anti-clockwise direction, that is, one could not return to the same city, unless it was the starting point of the journey. Hence, there was no alternative to using a cluster sample. There were two stages in the process of multi-stage cluster sampling which were used. (38)

Stage One: Selection of a sample of Anglo-Indian leaders of the community, which included Members of Parliament, ex-Members of Parliament, Members of the State Legislative Assemblies, ex-Members of the Legislative Assemblies.

Stage Two: Selection of a sample of schools using the

national language Hindi as the second language and six State/Regional languages as the second/third language. There were seven languages which were selected. They were Hindi, Marathi, Telugu, Bengali, Khasi, Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam. These state/regional languages helped to narrow down the number of schools and states to be visited. Cluster sampling was used to select a specific number of schools in selected areas.

The next section outlines the itinerary.

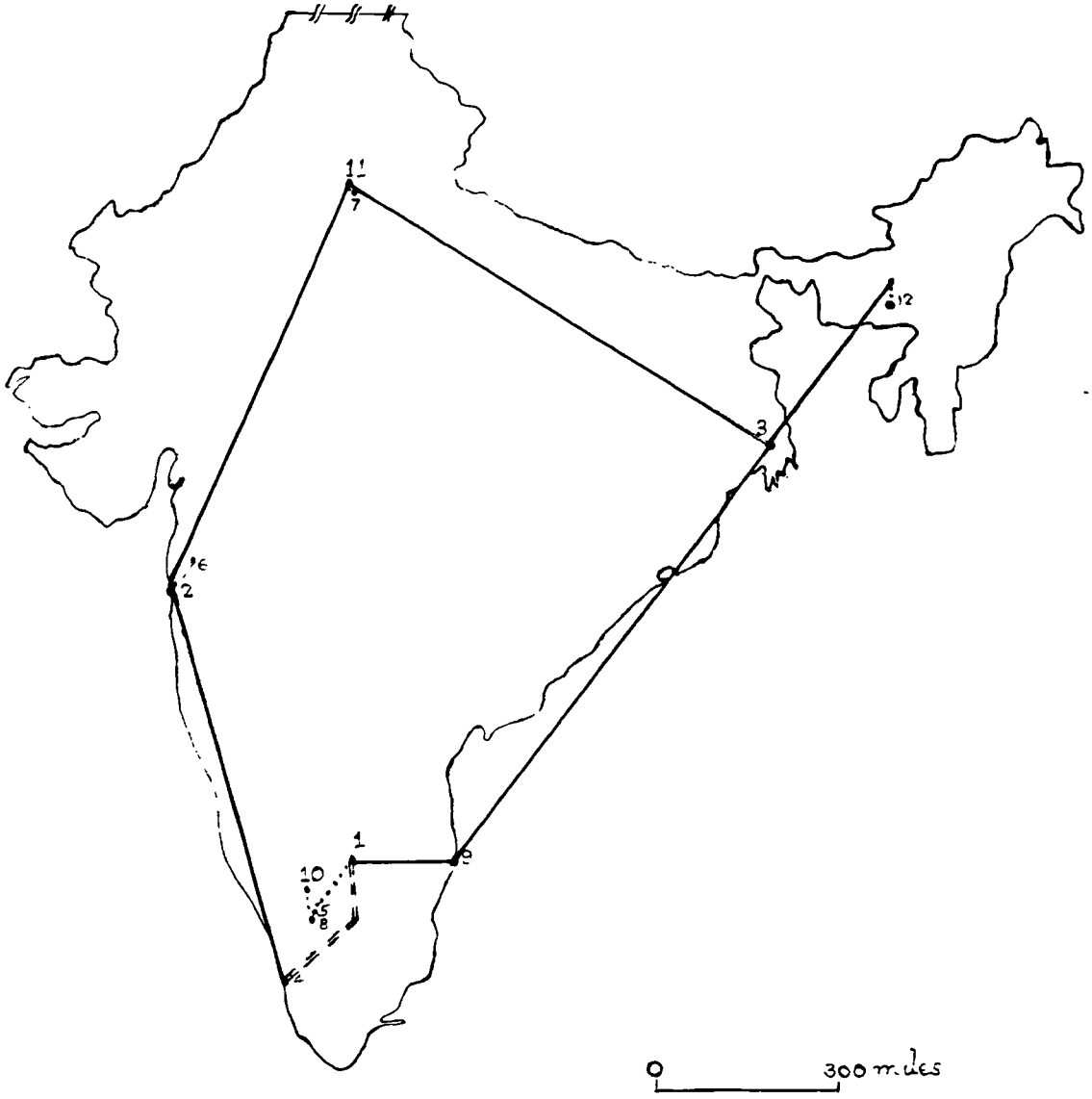
7. CONSTRAINTS IN PLANNING THE ITINERARY: The itinerary depended on the number of positive replies received from Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians who showed an interest in the research. Letters were written to all Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians in Maharashtra, Kerala, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, Meghalaya and New Delhi. Haryana State was only included in the itinerary after the researcher's arrival in New Delhi.

The Anglo-Indians who lived in Haryana had suggested to the leader of their group who lived in New Delhi that they were interested in participating in the survey. Eight Indian States and their capitals were visited:

STATE	**CAPITAL**	**TOWN/SUBURB**
Maharashtra	Bombay	Byculla, Fort, Bandra, Andheri, Juhu, Devlali, Trombay, Mazagaon.
Kerala	Cochin	Ernakulum, Perumanoor
Karnataka	Bangalore	Mysore, Lingarajapuram, Fraser, Langford, Cooke, Whitefield, Benson, Nazarbad, Indiranagar.
Tamil Nadu	Madras	Coonoor, Ketti, Egmore, Nungambakam.
West Bengal	Calcutta	Park Circus, Thilljallah, Sealdah, Ballygunge, Bow Bazaar, Kidderpore.
Meghalaya	Shillong	Riatsamthiah, Laitumkhrah.
New Delhi	New Delhi	Lajpat Nagar, Saket, Jangpura, Goledakkhana, Jawaharlal Nehru University, Sujan Singh Park, Teen Murti Marg, (NIEPA) Sri Arobindo Marg.
Haryana	Faridabad	Green Park.

The map of India on page 185 shows the twelve cities visited by the researcher during the field study of 1990. They ranged from New Delhi in the north to Cochin in the south and from Shillong in the east to Bombay in the west. The itinerary was dependant on weather conditions and air, train and coach schedules. The sample survey was labour-intensive, with the largest single expenditure being the fieldwork for the interviewing time, travel time and transport expenses.

India



CITIES VISITED BY THE RESEARCHER DURING THE FIELD STUDY IN 1990

1. Bangalore	2. Bombay	3. Calcutta
4. Cochin	5. Coonoor	6. Devlali
7. Faridabad	8. Ketti	9. Madras
10. Mysore	11. New Delhi	12. Shillong

AIRLINE_____COACH.....RAIL==========

In order to define the population sample, decisions had to be taken in the planning of the survey. Three factors were taken into consideration. These were expense, time and accessibility. Thus, it was impracticable to meet all the Anglo-Indians selected for an interview. For example the flight to Nagpur was cancelled at the last minute on account of the inaccessibility of members of the community. The expense of the trip was weighed against the number of interviewees - it was too expensive to fly to Nagpur to meet just five people.

Travel arrangements during the monsoon season in India can be a nightmare. When one has to keep deadlines and people are travelling many miles to participate in interviews, the schedule did become extremely difficult to keep, but none of the prearranged interviews were cancelled by either the researcher or the respondents.

For example, when planning interviews, one had to accept the time, the date and the place according to the interviewee's preference. This meant crossing the capital city New Delhi twice in one day to interview three different groups of people. In the airline sector, Cochin to Bangalore, the flight was cancelled by Indian Airlines, and plans had to be quickly made to switch from air to rail in an overnight journey from Cochin to Bangalore.

Haryana was included only on arrival in New Delhi. The community organised themselves most efficiently and were eager to participate in the research. In Meghalaya the accommodation was unavailable on arrival because of communication problems. It was only quick thinking and a timely telephone call to the Loreto Roman Catholic Convent in Shillong which solved the problem of "homelessness" for a weekend.

It was Shillong once again which posed another problem. The researcher was unaware that Anglo-Indians are known by their tribal surnames in Shillong. Hence, it was extremely difficult to get in touch with the group who were waiting to be interviewed.

The next section goes on to discuss the issues raised by the use of the interview as a research tool.

8. THE INTERVIEW: The interview roles did not vary during the survey, that is, the transaction took place to gain information from the respondent who supplied it, but the motive for taking part in the interview differed. For example, some respondents participated because of political reasons, and the opportunity to explore the "backward label", which was in the forefront of political debate in India.

The interviews were all conducted in English. The group interviews with the students were conducted in single-sex groups, except for the youngest children aged 5 to 7 who were interviewed together. Each interview always started with factual questions about themselves and ended with open-ended questions. The students were asked simple questions related to their social and educational environment.

Each interview lasted approximately one and a half hours. Five interviews lasted two hours and three interviews lasted two and a half hours. Ten group interviews were taped, and notes were also taken during the interviews. Most of the respondents were willing to be photographed.

The use of the interview was important as a specific research tool in this fieldwork. The formal interview was employed in which the six questions were asked and the

answers were recorded either on a tape or in manuscript. Many of the formal interviews took on an informal conversational style, in which the four key issues were explored. The gathering of data was through direct verbal interaction and was invaluable for following up unexpected results and comments. (39)

It was not possible to have a number of interviewers to control bias, which had to be recognised, in as much as each participant defined the situation in his or her way. On the other hand, open-ended questions allow flexibility; an opportunity to probe the participant's views deeper; and to clear up misunderstandings; and to test the participant's knowledge.

Although, the six questions invited factual answers, there was ample opportunity given for personal opinions. Minimising bias was important in the interview. Since the interview was primarily conducted to collect facts, there were no preconceived notions on the part of the interviewer.

The essential core of the interview was to "get to the facts" in the answers of the respondents. Anglo-Indians do not always answer the questions directly with a short statement but take some time to get to the root point.

One had to be patient and understand why this was so. The Anglo-Indian most probably did not want to answer the question, and the "conversational answer" was a polite diversionary tactic. One Anglo-Indian answered both questions on education with the statement,

> After all, there are so many other subjects one can discuss instead of education. (40)

One needed an insider's knowledge of the Anglo-Indian community, in order to sit through long conversations.

In order to forestall this problem, a decision was taken to send the six questions to the leader of the group prior to the researcher's arrival in India. There were group interviews and individual interviews. Adults were interviewed in groups or individually. Students were always interviewed in groups. Twenty two respondents who could not attend the group interviews wrote their answers and posted them.

Ten group interviews were tape recorded. None of the interviews with the students were taped. The basic aim was to identify children and young people who were most committed to school and those who felt alienated from school; to discover to what - if any - patterns of thought and behaviour their attitudes to school were related.

All adult respondents completed an evaluation report on the interview. The evaluation report had to be self-completed after the interview, and was not compulsory. Ninety per cent of all respondents completed an evaluation report, which gave particulars of names, addresses, place of interview, time, number present for the interview. Scores from excellent to poor for the six interview questions and one line comments about the questions were included in the evaluation report.

The respondent was asked to write one question which he or she felt should have been included in the interview. The interviewee was asked to comment on Anglo-Indian educational policies, the role played by Anglo-Indian Associations and general or specific comments on the interview. The evaluation sheet was important, because it offered information about the respondents who could be contacted in the future.

It also opened up areas for future discussion with other

groups of Anglo-Indians. It offered respondents an opportunity to comment on the interview. It was instrumental in enabling the researcher to vary the style of interviewing. As the environment was constantly changing a degree of flexibility had to be introduced.

The framework developed by Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham called the Johari window (taken from the first names of its authors) was used, in order to learn to build effective relationships. A decision was taken to offer information about the researcher and only after rapport was established the questions were asked. (41) The Johari window (42) was used because in the past two researches completed by the researcher in 1986 and 1988 because the researcher experienced empathy difficulties.

Rescue and salvage work in communication is tough and time-consuming. It often comes too late to do much good. It was important at the beginning of the interview to make some personal disclosures in order to encourage feedback.

The next section describes the sample population. It summarizes the broad characteristics of the population under four headings of age group, gender, city and community.

7. An overview of the sample population

The two sets of tables on pages 192 to 194 give an overview of the six hundred and twenty eight respondents by gender, age group (adults and students) and communities (Anglo-Indian, Indian, Indian Christian, Khasi and Europeans). The data are also broken down in a similar way for each of the twelve cities visited demonstrating the researcher's aim of attempting to be as objective as practicable.

Fifty-five percent of the Anglo-Indian respondents were male and forty-five percent were female. As a percentage of the sample the Anglo-Indian respondents were sixty-three percent. Indians were twenty-nine percent, Indian Christians were two percent, and Khasi and Europeans were six percent of the sample.

Among the Indians and Indian Christians the distribution between males and females was evenly balanced. There were no male respondents among the Khasi and European respondents.

Almost a third of the respondents were students. Sixty-three percent of the respondents were Anglo-Indians, twenty-nine percent Indians, the remaining eight percent being Indian Christians, Khasi and Europeans.

The two towns with the highest number of respondents (one hundred and three) were Devlali in Maharashtra state and Ketti in Tamil Nadu state. This reflects the two residential co-educational Anglo-Indian schools. The total number of student respondents in these two schools was one hundred and seventy.

The two capital cities of Bombay and Faridabad had the smallest number of respondents - twenty-nine and thirty-one respectively. In Bombay the students who were interviewed were adults in the University of Bombay.

FIELD STUDY : SAMPLE OVERVIEW

SAMPLE GENDER DISTRIBUTION

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Anglo-Indian (AI)	144	60	73	171	398
Indian (I)	53	20	34	75	182
Indian Christian (IC)	6	4			10
Khasi & European (KE)		38			38
Total	203	122	107	196	628

GENDER DISTRIBUTION WITHIN EACH COMMUNITY BY PERCENTAGE

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
AI (%)	36	15	18	30	100
I (%)	29	11	19	41	100
IC (%)	60	40			100
KE (%)		100			100
Total	32	19	17	31	100

EACH COMMUNITY AS A PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
AI (%)	23	10	12	19	63
I (%)	8	3	5	12	29
IC (%)	1	1			2
KE (%)		6			6
Total	32	19	17	31	100

GENDER (%)

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
AI (%)	55	45	100
I (%)	48	52	100
IC (%)	60	40	100
KE (%)		100	100
Total in sample	49	51	100

RESPONDENTS GROUPED BY CITY

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	17	12	36	9	74
Bombay	14	15			29
Calcutta	19	10		37	66
Cochin	29	4			33
Coonoor		1		34	35
Devlali	9	1	27	66	103
Faridabad	23	8			31
Ketti	16	10	36	41	103
Madras	4	14	8	9	35
New Delhi	65	11			76
Shillong	7	36			43
Total	203	122	107	196	628

ANGLO - INDIAN

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	13	8	5		26
Bombay	2	5			7
Calcutta	19	7		37	63
Cochin	29	4			33
Coonoor		1		34	35
Devlali	8	1	24		33
Faridabad	23	8			31
Ketti	16	10	36	41	103
Madras	3	14	8	9	34
New Delhi	25	1			26
Shillong	6	1			7
Total	144	60	73	121	398

INDIAN

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	3	4	31	9	47
Bombay	10	6			16
Calcutta					
Cochin					
Coonoor					
Devlali			3	66	69
Faridabad					
Ketti					
Madras					
New Delhi	40	10			50
Shillong					
Total	53	20	34	75	182

INDIAN CHRISTIAN, KHASI AND EUROPEAN

	MEN	WOMEN	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	1				1
Bombay	2	4			6
Calcutta		3			3
Cochin					
Coonoor					
Devlali	1				1
Faridabad					
Ketti					
Madras	1				1
New Delhi					
Shillong	1	35			36
Total	6	42			48

8. Conclusions

The historical study was qualitative in nature, and consisted of material emanating in the past. The basic skills required for the history section involved collecting, classifying, ordering, synthesising, evaluating and interpreting the historical evidence. Choices had to be made about limiting the information in some areas of the history of Anglo-Indian schools. Care was taken to avoid both over simplification and failure to recognise the fact that the causes of some events are complex.

An attempt was made to understand the words and expression in the light of their accepted meaning in an earlier period of history. An effort was made to eliminate an expression of personal bias by lifting out statements "for purposes of persuasion". (43) The history had to be written without being too critical or excessively admiring. The historical evidence provided the researcher with a more realistic view of the contemporary scene in Anglo-Indian education. It illustrated the relationship of the schools to the structure of Anglo-Indian society.

In relation to researching the situation of the Anglo-Indian community in respect of education at the present

time, the survey methodology was adopted for three reasons.

(1) It was successful because the well-defined stages required for completion of a survey can be outlined in a specific time frame.
(2) It offered opportunities to make alterations and to identify situations and standards against which existing conditions can be compared.
(3) Most importantly, it enabled the researcher to sample as wide a sample of Anglo-Indian opinion as was possible in the time available.

This chapter has described the methodology used for the history and the field research. The next three chapters will outline the research findings in relation to the three key elements identified earlier in chapter one, namely, ethnicity and size, language and religion.

These three key issues (c.f. discussion above Ch.1 pp.30-1) had to be actively investigated because the Anglo-Indian educational system was founded on them. The historical evidence gathered in chapters 1-4, also relates these three issues to a set of social relationships in the Anglo-Indian community. Ethnicity, the English language and Christianity developed social-class identifications which were crucial ingredients for integrating the Anglo-Indian community into the economic system of subordinate jobs. The community had developed in different parts of India, and the survey of Anglo-Indians had to be as extensive as possible.

The field study first had to investigate who is an Anglo-Indian, and ask questions about the actual size of the community in India. It had to investigate various communities of Anglo-Indians who fulfilled the criteria in the Constitution of India's definition of an Anglo-Indian and had to find out the reasons why some communities were

not being recognised as Anglo-Indians.

Second, the field study had to find out why Anglo-Indians were failing to pass Indian language examinations in their own schools. This affected their entry into further and higher education. Of more direct importance to the analysis in this thesis, however, is the uneven development between Anglo-Indians and Indians learning English and Indian languages in the same school.

Finally, the field study had to find out whether a cross-cultural understanding in religious education provided Anglo-Indian students with opportunities to integrate with Indians. It is the interpretation of the thesis that to deny Anglo-Indians and Indians a genuine religious education would deprive both of an understanding and knowledge of India's secular society via a knowledge of India's religions.

The next chapter deals with the first of these issues, namely, ethnicity and size.

CHAPTER 5

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) During the computer search, it became apparent that very little research has been conducted into the Anglo-Indian community.

(2) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) Research Methods in Education Second Edition Kent, U.K.: Croom Helm. (p.49)

(3) Harvey, D. (1979) Social Justice and the City Chapter I 'Social Processes and Spatial Form: I The Conceptual Problems of Urban Planning' London: Edward Arnold (p.25)

(4) Harvey, D. (1979) ibid., (p.23) See also, Saunders, P. (1986) Social Theory and the Urban Question Second Edition Chapter 4 'The urban as a socio-spatial system' London: Hutchinson Education Ltd.
(pp.84-113)

(5) Harvey, D. (1979) op. cit., (p.25); see also, Saunders, P. (1986) op. cit., (pp.52-83); see also, R.D. McKenzie, (1925, 1967, 1984) 'The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community' IN: R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess and R.D. McKenzie (pp.63-79)

(6) Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R.D. (1925, 1967, 1984) The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment with an Introduction by M. Janowitz. Midway Reprint Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press. R.D. McKenzie's Chapter 'The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community' offers an explanation on the effect of ecological changes on the social organization of community. p.64; see also, Saunders, P. (1986) op. cit., Chapter 2 'The urban as an ecological community' (pp.52-83)

(7) Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R.D. (1984) ibid., (p. 64)

(8) Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. 35 pp. 71-96; see also, Arden Wood, W.H.Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. 24 pp. 417-46; See also, Nundy, A. (1900) 'The Eurasian Problem in India' THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD Vol. 9 Part 17-18 pp. 56-73.

(9) Harvey, D. (1979) Chapter 2 'Social processes and spatial form: The redistribution of real income in an urban system' (pp.50-60)

(10) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., (pp.4-5)

(11) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., (p.5)

(12) Kerlinger, F.N.(1970) Foundations of Behavioral Research New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston (p.5)

(13) Butcher. H.J. and Pont, H.B. (eds.) (1973) Educational Research in Britain 3 London: University of London Press; see also, King, P. (ed.) (1983) Working with Third Years: Report of the Research Action Group in English 1983 Department of Education, Loughborough University and School of Education. Nottingham University; see also, Nixon, J. (ed.) (1981) A Teacher's Guide to Action Research London: Grant McIntyre; see also, Winter, R. (1982) 'Dilemma Analysis: A contribution to Methodology for Action Research' CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION 12, 3. pp.161-74

(14) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., Chapter 9 (pp.208-227)

(15) Kish, L. (1978) 'Some Statistical Problems in Research Design' IN: J. Bynner, and K.M. Stribley Social Research: Principles and Procedures Milton Keynes: Open University the Longman Group (p.69); see also, Krowsz, E. and Miller, S.H. (1974) Social Research Design London: Longman Group (p.64); see also, Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, L. (1968) Pygmalion In The Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupil's Intellectual Development New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston

(16) McNeill, P. (ed.) (1990) Research Methods London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (pp.58-9)

(17) The ORACLE Research: Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation See, Galton, M. and Simon, B. (eds.) (1980) Progress and Performance in the Primary School London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; see also, Wakeford, J. (1968) The Strategy of Social Enquiry: A New Programme in Methods and Measurement for the Student of Sociology London: Macmillan (p.89)

(18) Kidder, L.H., Wrightsman, S., and Cook, R. (1981) Research Methods in Social Relations 4th Edition New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston (p.5); see also, Wiersma, W. (1986) Research Methods in Education: An Introduction 4th Edition Boston: Allyn and Bacon Inc.; see also, Denzin, N.K. (1970) The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods London: The Butterworth Group; see also, Mann, P.H. (1985) Methods of Social Investigation 2nd Edition Oxford: Basil Blackwell (p.38); see also, McCormick, R. and James, M. (1983) Curriculum Evaluation in Schools Beckenham U.K.: Croom Helm

(19) The researcher conducted a research into Christian immigrants to Britain in 1986. See, Lobo, A. (1986)

Christian Immigrants from India and Pakistan to Britain after 1947: Their Education and Aspirations Unpublished B.Ed. (Hons.) Dissertation Bulmershe College of Higher Education. Reading.

(20) March, J.G. and Olson, J.P. (1976) Ambiguity and Choice in Organisations Bergen Universitetslaget

(21) Cohen, L. and Holliday, M. (1982) Statistics for Social Scientists: An Introductory Text with Computer Programs in BASIC London: Harper and Row; see also, Guildford, J.P. and Fruchter, B. (1973) Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education New York: McGraw-Hill

(22) Bell, L.A. (1988) 'The School as an Organization: A Reappraisal' IN: A. Westoby (ed.) Culture and Power in Educational Organizations Milton Keynes: Open University Press (p.11); see also, Bennett, N., Andreae, J., Hegarty, P. and Wade, B. (1980) Open Plan Schools U.K.:NFER Publishing Co. Ltd. for the Schools Council (p.73); see also, Labovitz, S. and Hagedorn, R (1981) Introduction to Social Research New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. (p.49); see also, Little, A. and Westergaard, J. (1964) 'The Trend of Class Differentials in Educational Opportunity in England and Wales' BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.15 pp.301-20.

See also, Arden-Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW (NEW SERIES) Vol.24 pp.417-46 (p.424); see also, The Baptist Mission Report (1959) or The Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958 Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press (p.63); see also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University Ann Arbor, Mi 48106: University Microfilms International (p.61, p.66); see also, Bulmer, M. (ed.) (1978) Social Policy Research: Social Science Research and Policy Making in Britain U.K.: Macmillan (p.13); see also, Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) Adaptation In A Changing World: The Anglo-Indian problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University Montreal Quebec, Canada. Microfilm. (p.61); see also, Wright, R.D. (1970) Marginal Man in Transition: A Study ;of the Anglo-Indian Community of India University of Missouri, Columbia, Ph.D. Thesis. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms a XEROX Co. (p.111)

(23) Bulmer, M. (1978) op. cit., (p.7); see also, Mann, P.H. (1985) Methods of Social Investigation Second Edition Oxford: Basil Blackwell (p.51)

(24) Wiersma, W. (1986) op. cit., (p.29)

(25) Marsh, C. (1982) The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation London: George Allen and Unwin (p.51)

(26) Lobo, A. (1986) op. cit.; see also, Lobo, A. (1988) Anglo-Indians In Britain: An Educational Perspective of an Urban Ethnic-Minority Community Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts Degree in Urban Education University of London, Institute of Education; see also, Calder, J. (1979) Research Methods in Education and the Social Sciences Block 3 B Part 4 Research Design. Milton Keynes: Open University Press (p.8); see also, Hedges, B. (1979) 'Sampling Minority Populations' IN: M.J. Wilson (ed.) Social and Educational Research in Action: A Book of Readings Course Reader Open University. London: Longman/The Open University Press; see also, Wilson, A. (1987) Mixed Race Children: A Study of Identity London: Allen and Unwin (p.180); see also, Georges, R.A. and Jones, M.O. (1980) People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork Berkeley, U.S.A.: University of California Press (p.155)

(27) Borg, W.R. and Gall, M.D. (1989) Educational Research: An Introduction Fifth Edition, New York: Longman (p.448)

(28) Kahn, R.L. and Cannell, C.F. (1957) The Dynamics of Interviewing: Theory, Technique and Cases Survey Research Centre, University of Michigan New York: John Wiley and Sons; see also, Nederhof, A.J. (1981) 'Impact of Interviewer's Sex on Volunteering by Females' PERCEPTUAL AND MOTOR SKILLS 52 pp.25-6; see also, Shosteck, H. (1977) 'Respondent Militancy as a Control Variable for Interviewer Effect' JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES No.4 pp.36-45; see also, Weiss, C.H. (1974) 'Research Organizations interview the poor' SOCIAL PROBLEMS No.2 pp.246-58

(29) Abrams, M. (1957) Social Surveys and Social Action London: Heinemann (p.2)

(30) Lobo, A. (1988) op. cit., Chapter 7 'The Future: What will it be, competition or complacency?' (pp.50-54)

(31) There is no definition of the word Backward in the Constitution of India. But, the qualities of backwardness are described and some of the Backward Classes are enumerated in the Havanur Report (1975) Karnataka Backward Classes Commission (p.57) The Report is a comprehensive document, Constituted under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952, Central Act 60 of 1952. This quote appears in Volume I Part II.

(32) Gardner, G. (1978) Social Surveys for Social Planners: A Practical Introduction to the Issues and Techniques of Social Surveys for Students and Professional Workers Milton, Keynes: The Open University Press (p.56); see also, Molenaar, N.J. (1982) 'Response-Effects of "Formal" Characteristics of Questions' IN: W. Dijkstr. and J. Van Der Zouwen (eds.) Response Behaviour in the Survey-Interview London: Academic Press (p.77)

(33) Wiersma, W. (1986) op. cit., (p.33)

(34) Moser, C.A. and Kalton, G.(1971) Survey Methods in Social Investigation Second Edition London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd. (p.33)

(35) Hoinville, G. and Jowell, R. (1978) Survey Research Practice London: Heinemann Educational Books (p.83)

(36) Child, J. (1984) Organization: A Guide to Problems and Practice Second Edition, London: Harper and Row (p.54)

(37) Vertical "segmentation" was created by the researcher to cope with the letters received from respondents in India. The idea of "segmentation" was based on Child, (1984) ibid., (p.107) in which the clustering of related activities are identified by means of a matrix of relationships. Using a vertical "segmentation" process enabled the researcher to arrive at decisions about the respondents.

(38) Calder, J. (1979) op. cit., (p.28); see also, McNeill, P. (1990) op. cit., (p.39)

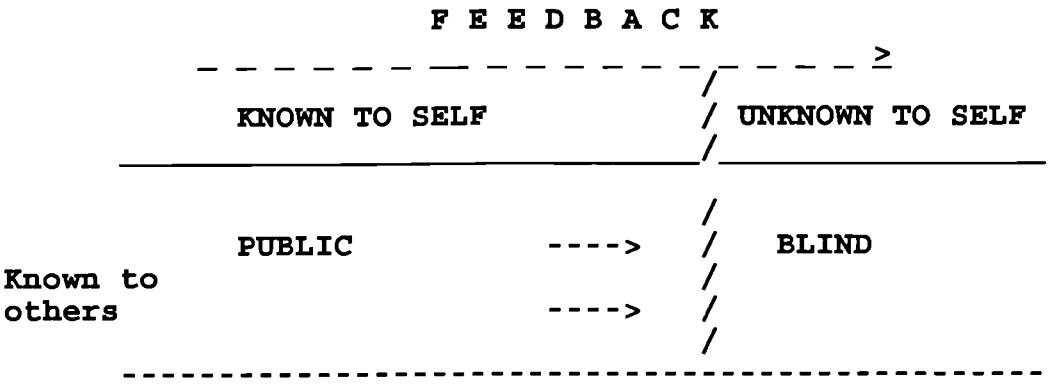
(39) Hargie, O; Saunders, C. and Dickson, D. (1981) Social Skills in Interpersonal Communication London: Croom Helm; see also, Tuckman, B.W. (1972) Conducting Educational Research New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich

(40) Profile No. 62

(41) Hersey,P. and Blanchard, K.(1982) Management of Organizational Behaviour: Utilizing Human Resources Fourth Edition, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall (p.237)

(42) See, Hersey, P. and Blanchard, K. (1982) ibid., used the Luft and Ingham JOHARI WINDOW to depict leadership personality. (pp.238-9) The researcher found this "window" an interesting framework, because it enabled one to make an impact with people one is trying to influence.

The Johari "window" is graphic.



There are two processes which affect the shape of the "window". The first process is feedback. This is the extent to which others are willing to share with the researcher on how she/he is coming across. This indicates the willingness of the respondents to be open and honest with the researcher. The second process is disclosure and this process depends on how much the researcher is willing to share with the respondents data about themselves. Disclosure is appropriate only when such disclosure is relevant to the field study. The lesson to be learned in the "window" is to 'get your shots in early' with the respondents. Loosening up is much easier than tightening up in a field study. Occasionally the "blind" area which is unknown to the researcher but known to the respondents is dependant on picking up the nonverbal and verbal responses in a situation. Feedback is essential in order to overcome this "blindness" in a research setting. The last area is "unknown" and is the "iceberg" in psychology. The "iceberg" can have a relevant impact in terms of the kinds of behaviours in which a researcher engages during an interview.

(43) Best, J.W. (1970) Research in Education Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall; see also, Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., (p.60); see also, Plummer, K. (1983) Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method London: George Allen and Unwin; see also, Sutherland, G. (1969) 'The Study of the History of Education' HISTORY Vol. LIV No. 180 February. See also, Mouly, G.J. (1978) Educational Research: The Art and Science of Investigation Boston: Allyn and Bacon (p.4)

CHAPTER 6

ISSUES OF SIZE AND ETHNICITY IN THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY IN INDIA - 1990

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the size of the Anglo-Indian community using the precise definition of an Anglo-Indian in Article 366(2) of the Constitution of India, 1950:

> ... Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.

The argument is two-fold. First, the problem of identifying who is an Anglo-Indian is historical. (c.f. discussion above Ch.1 p.30). This chapter is arguing, that, the ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian as defined by the Constitution of India, is inextricably linked with the size of the community. If the community could agree on this issue, it could seek to implement educational policies which would offer equal opportunities to all Anglo-Indians in their schools.

Second, the Anglo-Indian mixed race has existed since the fifteenth century. It has been officially recognised for only fifty years, that is from 1911-1961. (1) It ceased to be officially recognised as a separate community by the Indian government after the 1961 census of India. (2)

If, the community could agree on "who" is an Anglo-Indian, it might have a clearer sense of its own identity. It would be able to establish itself as a cohesive whole. This solidarity would enable the community to successfully face the challenges of modern India.

The structure of the chapter is:

(i) The empirical data: Size and ethnicity

(ii) The relevance of size and ethnicity to education

(iii) The post-1947 ethnic Anglo-Indian: Keralite Anglo-Indians and Meghalayan Anglo-Indians

(iv) Conclusions.

2. The empirical data: Size and ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian community

In 1990, during the field study, all adult respondents were asked:

> **What is the size of the Anglo-Indian Community in India today?**

The question was always followed by a brief silence. The responses fell into five distinct categories:

(i) Complete surprise followed by silence.

(ii) Another question was asked as a reply. For example,

> Why do you need to know?

Or,

> Is this a necessary question, after all, what has the size of the community got to do with education?

(iii) Single words were used to dismiss the question

altogether. For example,

> Impossible, Unobtainable, Insoluble, [and] Unnecessary,

were used by the respondents.

(iv) The respondents evaded the question, by asking the researcher to

> ... find out for yourself. You let us know. (3)

(v) Many of the respondents suggested that the researcher should ask the "bigwigs" in the community. (4)

These answers gave the researcher a rare insight into the psychosocial development of the community. The community possessed a commitment to an exclusive bi-racial connectedness. The respondents were conforming to the norms, customs and standards of the group to which they belonged. The size issue was ambiguous, and the group pressure towards conformity was strong in the individuals. (5)

By 1990, the powerful and influential All-India Anglo-Indian Association headed by Anthony had rejected the Anglo-Indians from Kerala. This was because these Anglo-Indians had accepted the terminology Other Backward Classes and received positive discrimination from the Indian government for jobs and education. The All-India Anglo-Indian Association reject the word backward for Anglo-Indians.

This Association did not accept the Anglo-Indians from Meghalaya, because these Meghalayan Anglo-Indians were called Scheduled Tribe. Once again a group of Anglo-

Indians received positive discrimination from the Indian government for jobs and education. The Association reject the word tribe for Anglo-Indians.

Whether the Association accept these groups, or whether these groups want to be known as Anglo-Indians is not the issue. The argument is that both these groups are descended from European men (c.f. discussion below Ch. 6 p.223 and p.227). Both the groups share a unique racial, cultural and social heritage with Anglo-Indians. Their numbers contribute to the size of the community. (6)

The confusion offered a clue to the complex bi-racial connectedness between Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian community, however, preferred their own bi-racial connectedness definition of themselves if they belonged to the same group or association. The hostilities between these bi-racially connected groups clearly demonstrated the community's rejection of the definition of an Anglo-Indian in the Constitution of India.

It revealed for the first time, the deep layers of conflict and racial distrust which a question about the size of the community rouses. Anglo-Indians made provocative racist statements followed by brief explanations about one another.

> Frank Anthony is not an Anglo-Indian. You see his surname is a Madrassi one.

Or,

> She is a Malayalee Indian Christian, I've seen her parents and I know.

And,

> The family is quite dark, and are just twice-removed from the Marathis.

These statements and explanations are discussed in the

next section. It was important to ask the question in 1990 even if it did open a Pandora's box of racism.

2.1. Explanations: Biological and cultural "marks" and the Indian census

The explanations were divided into biological and cultural "marks". The biological "marks" referred to the colour and racial characteristics; the cultural "marks" referred to dress, and cuisine. (7) Some respondents offered the comment that different Anglo-Indian associations took anyone as a member without verifying biological and cultural "marks" - their ethnic credentials.

The biological "marks" were awarded by Anglo-Indians and Indians to describe the Anglo-Indian's ethnicity. It provided a convenient and commonly used means for establishing differences between the diverse groups of Anglo-Indians. An important "mark" was given first to skin colour and this was followed by the surname. The skin colour and surname provided Anglo-Indians with a code of ethics which was intracultural and was dependant upon group/association membership.

These biological "marks" provided discriminatory tiers which were related to ancestry, and provided the important variations in behaviour or values in the community. The cultural "marks" usually depended on the culture of the home, dress, languages spoken, food and even musical appreciation. The discriminatory tier was ancestry which became diluted in the dominant Indian culture. These three tiers represented very important variations in behaviour or values in the community and persisted throughout the survey as a basis for intracultural discrimination.

2.2. Explanations: Being Anglo-Indian or being an Indian Christian Anglo-Indian

The Indian Census makes no distinction between Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians. Anglo-Indians also blamed the associations for inadequate record-keeping. Two certificates were required for membership of Anglo-Indian associations. The first was the birth certificate and the second one was the parent's marriage certificate. (8) Some associations were interested in increasing the membership, and often overlooked these two certificates which defined Anglo-Indian ethnicity. (9)

The most important ethnic aspect of an Anglo-Indian is European descent in the male line. The definition of an Indian Christian is:

> Indian Christian means a native of India, who is or, in good faith claims to be of unmixed Asiatic descent and who professes any form of Christian religion. (10)

This is very different from the definition of an Anglo-Indian. Although all Anglo-Indians in India are Citizens of India, and all Anglo-Indians are Christian by religion, the Indian Christian is a person of unmixed Asiatic descent, while the Anglo-Indian is a person of mixed European descent.

The Anglo-Indian was treated non-biologically in two post Independence Censuses. After the 1961 Census, the criteria used for grouping of Anglo-Indians was discontinued. The Government had decided to do away with classification related to caste or community retaining only religion. The religions included Sikh, Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Parsee and Christian. Christians included Anglo-Indians; both Indians who were Christians and British settlers in India.

Thus Anglo-Indians "lost" their political identity.

Although, Anglo-Indians are a racial minority, there are not even minimal scientific standards for classification in racial groups in the Indian Census. Physical anthropologists and geneticists treat race as technically a biological concept. The Anglo-Indian's racial characteristics (European and Indian) are ignored and Anglo-Indians are

> ... illogically classified according to their religion

which is Christianity. (11)

This Census classification has political consequences for the Anglo-Indians, because while the Anglo-Indians have a Constitutional right for representation in the Indian Parliament Indian Christians do not. Two Anglo-Indians continue to be nominated as Members of Parliament thus offering the Anglo-Indian community a political voice.

The Official Parliamentary Publication shows the different parties, with the Anglo-Indians shown as Nos. 544 and 545 unattached to any Party. The minority status protects Anglo-Indian schools. Anglo-Indian benefit from this protection. Their rights as a racial, linguistic and religious minority community is linked to the Anglo-Indian schools. This has implications for curriculum control in the areas of language and religious education in Anglo-Indian schools.

> The schools must and should continue to be managed by Anglo-Indians. (12)

Significantly, in 1976 a Madras High Court Judge ruled that an Anglo-Indian was not an Indian Christian. This is an important judgement. Indian Christians and

Anglo-Indians share a common religious belief. They are separated by race. So,

> ... Anglo-Indian schools ought to be managed by Anglo-Indians. (13)

Nevertheless, if groups and associations of Anglo-Indians do not create a united and cohesive front, there is the distinct risk that Anglo-Indian schools will eventually be managed by Indian Christians. Anglo-Indians would lose control of the most valuable asset which they have a right to administer and manage, which bears their ethnic name, and which could be used to reinforce their own cultural image.

The next section offers an analysis of the answers and gives a considered estimate of the size of the Anglo-Indian community.

2.3. Respondents' estimate of size of the Anglo-Indian community: Analysis of Field Study Data and Charts

Out of the total of twelve cities visited during the field study, only ten cities had respondents who were willing to offer a specific number as the size of the community. The two cities which are missing in Table 1 (14) and Table 2, on pages 211-3, are Mysore and Shillong, because the respondents did not answer the question.

TABLE 1

ESTIMATE OF SIZE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY: ANALYSIS OF RESPONDENTS'

ANSWERS IN EACH CITY VISITED

THE ENTRY IN EACH CELL REPRESENTS A RESPONDENT'S ESTIMATE

				Total Respondents	Mean	Median	Mode
Bangalore	90,000	100,000	100,000				
	100,000	100,000	100,000				
	100,000	100,000	400,000				
	400,000	400,000	400,000				
	800,000	800,000	800,000	15	319,333	100,000	100,000
Bombay	70,000	70,000	70,000				
	70,000	70,000	70,000				
	70,000	500,000	500,000	9	165,556	70,000	70,000
Calcutta	75,000	150,000	150,000				
	350,000	350,000	350,000				
	350,000	350,000	500,000	9	291,667	350,000	350,000
Cochin	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000	33	300,000	300,000	300,000
Coonoor	200,000			1	200,000	200,000	
Devlali	90,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	500,000				
	500,000	500,000	500,000	9	365,556	300,000	300,000
Faridabad	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000	1,000,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000			31	661,290	1,000,000	1,000,000
Ketti	90,000	90,000	90,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000	300,000				
	300,000	300,000		26	275,769	300,000	300,000

				Total Respondents	Mean	Median	Mode
Madras	350,000	350,000	350,000				
	500,000	500,000	500,000				
	500,000	500,000	500,000				
	500,000	500,000	500,000				
	500,000	500,000	500,000				
	800,000	800,000	800,000	18	525,000	500,000	500,000
New Delhi	70,000	125,000	135,000				
	175,000	190,000	228,000				
	275,000	275,000	275,000				
	275,000	275,000	275,000				
	275,000	275,000	275,000				
	275,000	275,000	275,000				
	275,000	275,000	275,000				
	275,000	500,000	500,000				
	500,000	800,000	1,000,000				
	1,000,000			28	343,679	275,000	275,000
GLOBAL				179	385,687	300,000	300,000

Notes: (1) The mean is the arithmetic average.
(2) The median is the middle number in an array of observations from the lowest to the highest (see the next page too).
(3) The mode is the most frequently occurring observation in the sample (see next page too).

TABLE 2

ESTIMATE OF SIZE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY: ANALYSIS OF RESPONDENTS' ANSWERS IN EACH CITY VISITED BY EACH CLASS (OR NUMBER GROUP)

ESTIMATE X 1000	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS					
E	N	ExN	ExE	NxExE	N(Ex1000-median)	N(Ex1000-me
70	8	560	4,900	39,200	1,840,000	2,525,496
75	1	75	5,625	5,625	225,000	310,687
90	5	450	8,100	40,500	1,050,000	1,478,435
100	7	700	10,000	70,000	1,400,000	1,999,809
125	1	125	15,625	15,625	175,000	260,687
135	1	135	18,225	18,225	165,000	250,687
150	2	300	22,500	45,000	300,000	471,374
175	1	175	30,625	30,625	125,000	210,687
190	1	190	36,100	36,100	110,000	195,687
200	1	200	40,000	40,000	100,000	185,687
275	16	4,400	75,625	1,210,000	400,000	1,770,992
228	1	228	51,984	51,984	72,000	157,687
300	75	22,500	90,000	6,750,000	0	6,426,525
350	8	2,800	122,500	980,000	400,000	285,496
400	4	1,600	160,000	640,000	400,000	57,252
500	22	11,000	250,000	5,500,000	4,400,000	2,514,886
800	7	5,600	640,000	4,480,000	3,500,000	2,900,191
1,000	18	18,000	1,000,000	18,000,000	12,600,000	11,057,634
Total	179	69,038	2,581,809	37,952,884	27,262,000	33,059,899

CONCLUSIONS	
Arithmetic mean	385,687
Variance	6.33E+10
Standard devn.	251,541
The range is	930,000
The mode is	300,000
The median is	300,000
Average devn from median	152,302
Average devn from mean	184,692

Notes: (1) The mean is the arithmetic average.
(2) The median is the middle number in an array of observations from the lowest to the highest.
(3) The mode is the most frequently occurring observation in the sample.

Two hundred and eighty two adults were asked the question; only one hundred and seventy nine offered a specific number, see Table 1. (15) One hundred and three respondents replied to the question but did not offer a specific number. Their reply fell into the responses of either a single word or an explanation about how difficult it was to reach any conclusion. (16)

TABLE 1

Table 1 is arranged alphabetically by city, and it shows the grouped data, that is, the number of respondents giving a particular estimate of the size of the community. The maximum number of respondents who answered the question offering a specific size of the community was in Cochin; the minimum number of respondents who answered the question was in Coonoor - a single respondent gave the number two hundred thousand. There was little variation between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians. (17)

TABLE 2

In Table 2, (18) the arithmetic mean (simple average), the variance and the standard deviation of respondents' estimates is calculated. The average was 385,687 people with a standard deviation of 251,541. The mode (the most frequent answer) was 300,000 people and so was the median (the middle number). The average deviation from the mode (or median) was 152,302 people. The range of the estimates was between 70,000 and 1,000,000 people, that is, 930,000 people. (19)

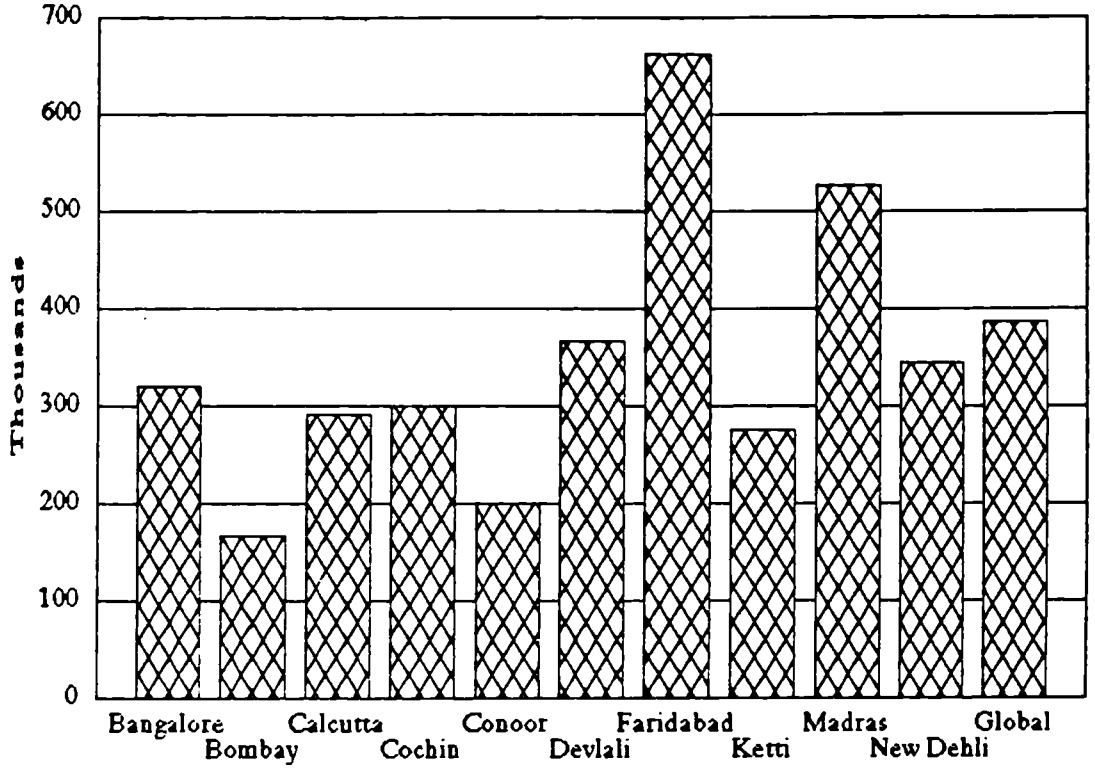
As the average deviation from the median (mode) is much smaller than the standard deviation, this shows that the mean and standard deviation are distorted by a significant number of few extremely high values. Hence, the median and

the average deviation from the median give a truer picture of the respondents' estimate of the size of the community which is estimated at 300,000.

THE BAR CHART

The bar chart (20), on the next page, shows a comparison of the global mean compared to the mean estimated by each city's respondents. Out of the 179 respondents who gave a figure for the size of the community, three were non-Christian Indians from New Delhi, and 3 were Indian Christians from Bombay. The rest were all Anglo-Indian respondents. (21)

COMPARISON OF GLOBAL VS CITY AVERAGE



New Delhi's and Devlali's respondent's averages were closest to the global average; those of Faridabad and Madras were well-above the global average; Coonoor and Bombay were well below it. A further inspection of the bar chart demonstrates that there is little difference between the North (New Delhi), East (Calcutta), South (Cochin), but there is a disparity with the West (Bombay).

Although the controversy still exists in India, the respondents most frequently estimated the size of the community as 300,000 people.

2.4. The size of the Anglo-Indian community in 1990

Summing up, the average was 385,687 people with a standard deviation of 251,540. The mode was 300,000 and so was the median. Therefore, from the statistical evidence offered an estimate size of the Anglo-Indian community in India was not below 300,000 or above 400,000. (22) The size was not as small as most influential Anglo-Indians thought it to be. Anglo-Indian educational policy makers would now be convinced that there was a need to review educational policies, and to reduce the friction which existed between the various associations.

This not inconsiderable size should convince educational policy makers in the community, that a large pool of potential scholars who needed further and higher Education was being held back. The unequal opportunities offered to Anglo-Indians to study in their own schools prevented the exploitation of the rich talent locked within the community.

The next section describes the crucial role size and ethnicity could play in steering the process of curriculum

change to accommodate the reality of life in post-Independent India.

3. The relevance of size and ethnicity to education

The empirical data which educational policy makers in the community could use to view the community in a realistic way could create an open, decentralized structure which would reduce a significant influence by an elite. The data could affect not only Anglo-Indian educational issues but also social, economic and political ones. The empirical findings offer all Anglo-Indians a more participatory role in decision-making. (23)

Size and ethnicity was linked to reviewing educational policy and creating a new educational agenda which would reduce disadvantage and increase access for Anglo-Indians to their own schools. The groups and associations which are responsible for the management of Anglo-Indian schools need to understand the infusion of diversity from Indian society. The process of change from merely learning English and Christian Doctrine in the schools needs to be shifted to the economic, social and educational interests of the Anglo-Indian community.

The change has created the "new ethnic" Anglo-Indian. The new ethnicity has still

> ... retained the character or quality of an ethnic group. (24)

But, the emphasis has now changed, and this new ethnicity should be reflected in the new educational agenda of Anglo-Indian schools.

This policy would provide the framework for curriculum

change via an educational theory-practice which provides for accountability (c.f. see discussion below Ch. 9. p.331 and p.339). This would create a more egalitarian and liberating educational experience for Anglo-Indian students, and also offer them a

> ... democratic participation in social life and an equal claim to the fruits of economic activity. (25)

Anglo-Indian schools currently use the 10+2 formula (ten years of primary and secondary education, plus two years of Further Education). In the researcher's opinion this programme could be expanded to 10+2+3 (the three years extra years are Higher Education). These figures are known as the Indian Educational Formula. (26) This would increase the opportunities to Anglo-Indians to pursue Higher Education in the supportive environment of their own ethnic minority schools and colleges.

3.1. The size statistic and ethnicity

The issue of size and ethnicity is linked to the formation of group belongingness. Group cohesiveness has far-reaching and significant implications for the Anglo-Indian schools because,

> ... without at least a minimal attraction of members to each other a group cannot exist at all. (27)

Schools which are dependant upon the Anglo-Indians to maintain and manage need groups which are cooperative and interdependent. Otherwise, educational policies which affect the education of Anglo-Indians will suffer.

The next section describes the meaning that size and

ethnicity has for the Anglo-Indians, and the development of the new ethnicity in the Anglo-Indian community, which should be reflected in a new educational agenda for the minority Anglo-Indian schools.

4. The post-1947 ethnic Anglo-Indians in Kerala and Meghalaya: The Advantages of Other Backward Classes and Scheduled Tribe status

The ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian is found in the sharing of a unique social and cultural heritage which is found in the language, religion and European descent in the male line. Within this unique cultural ethnicity the community has not existed in a vacuum as it did in pre-Independent India.

Many authors have used the word "miscegenation", to describe the ethnicity of Anglo-Indians. The researcher, for two reasons, firmly rejects this approach. First, the word was invented as a hoax by satirists in an anonymous pamphlet published in New York in 1864. Second, the prefix "mis" from the Latin miscere "mix" has probably contributed its share to the misunderstanding of the "race mixture", because words that begin with the prefix "mis" suggest a "mistake", "misuse" or "mislead". (28)

The researcher's alternative views are expressed in terms of the new Anglo-Indian ethnicity. Ethnocentrism existed during the colonial period, and it grew in increasing complexity in different parts of India. With emigration, Anglo-Indians who stayed on, married Indian Christians and non-Christians thus creating a new ethnicity. Indians in themselves are not a cohesive whole. For example, the Tamil and the Punjabi have different racial characteristics. They speak different languages, and this is reflected in the educational curriculum of Anglo-Indian

schools in Tamil Nadu and the Punjab.

In post-Independent India, the community's ethnicity has changed because emigration depleted the community's numbers and Anglo-Indians have intermarried with non Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indian's ethnicity should no longer be taken at face value but must be related to the large social matrix of the dominant Indian society. (29)

So, each new ethnic group gained its own internal strengths and weaknesses from the prejudices and exclusionary practices of Colonial society and post-Independent Indian society. These new ethnic Anglo-Indians fulfil the criteria in the definition of an Anglo-Indian in the Constitution of India. Thus, in post-Independent India each of these ethnic groups scattered all over India, developed a new ethnicity, which is reflected in the Anglo-Indian schools and their language and religious educational curriculum.

This new ethnicity was found in a growing appreciation for their historical roots and an awareness of social power. There was a sense of being condescended to and a growing disaffection regarding those to whom one should defer, that is, the old guard in the community. The new ethnicity is a developing, common culture which has created the new ethnic Anglo-Indian. This new ethnicity has a quality which has developed new characteristics (30) of the Anglo-Indian in post-Independent India.

Therefore, the new ethnicity will affect the curriculum for Anglo-Indians, and the way in which the curriculum is delivered to Anglo-Indians. For example, the learning of Indian languages is of paramount importance for Anglo-Indians in the nineties.

The schools have a role to play in ensuring that the new

ethnicity of Anglo-Indians is reflected in teaching practices in the classrooms of Anglo-Indian schools. The new ethnicity of Anglo-Indians must also be reflected in the way religious education is taught in Anglo-Indian schools, because arrangements "for religious education tend to be tentative and exploratory" (31) in these schools.

The new ethnic Anglo-Indian needs,

> ... a good command over the English language because it impresses prospective employers in the public and private sectors. (32)

Schools must ensure that all Anglo-Indians are taught English as a first language, as the main purpose is to educate Anglo-Indians in their mother tongue. The new ethnicity in the community also demands that Anglo-Indian students learn the Three-Language Formula (33) effectively, because this would prepare Anglo-Indians for the reality of life in post-Independent India.

4.1. The Keralite Anglo-Indians: The descendants of Portuguese Colonialists in Kerala

Interviews with the Kerala Anglo-Indians took place in an Anglo-Indian school in Cochin, the capital of the state of Kerala, which lies in the south-west corner of India. Thirty three Anglo-Indians were interviewed in a group; twenty nine were men, four women.

These respondents comprised 18.4% of the total Anglo-Indian respondents in the survey. The number represents 5% of the sampled population. The meeting was conducted in English. The answer given by all respondents to the question "What is the size of the Anglo-Indian community?" was three hundred thousand. (34)

The Keralite Anglo-Indians have Portuguese surnames as distinct from Anglo-Saxon ones. They are bilingual in English and Malayalam. They speak English as their mother-tongue and most of the women wear Western-style dress. Their hospitality was remarkable. (35)

During the British Raj, Keralite Anglo-Indians lived in two political enclaves - British Malabar and the State of Cochin and Travancore. The latter was ruled by a Rajah. The Keralite Anglo-Indians formed an Association in 1922 with Chevalier C. Paul Luiz as President and Professor Nunez as Secretary. The Association established an industrial school for poor Anglo-Indian boys and girls. In 1934, the South Malabar Anglo-Indian Association was inaugurated.

In 1936 Sir Henry Gidney, the President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, visited Ernakulam and Fort Cochin and established branches of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. Sir Gidney was aware of the poverty and inadequate education levels of Keralite Anglo-Indians, and he did not disown or discard the Keralite Anglo-Indians. He was aware of their poverty and inadequate educational qualifications. (36)

In 1944, Frank Anthony the President of the All India Anglo-Indian Association visited Ernakulam, succeeding Sir Henry as the leader of the Anglo-Indian community. Frank Anthony

> ... was all praise for the Anglo-Indians of the State at that time. (37)

In 1946, the Federated Anglo-Indian Association with its branch associations was amalgamated with the branch of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. In 1949, the states of Travancore and Cochin were integrated. The name of the new state was Kerala. The Anglo-Indians in Kerala decided

that they wanted autonomy to run their own affairs. But, the All-India Anglo-Indian Association wanted 4% of local subscriptions as the branch contribution to the centre. As reciprocal assistance in the form of school support was not forthcoming widespread discontent occurred.

In 1953, the registration of the separate (Kerala) Union of Anglo-Indian Associations took place. This "outgroup" of Anglo-Indians became independent from the All India Anglo-Indian Association. The new Union was registered under the Literary, Scientific and Charitable Societies Act.

The poverty and deprivation in the community forced the Government of India to recognise the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala as one among the Other Backward Communities. Hence the Anglo-Indian students in the State became eligible for the scholarships granted by the Government of India. A number of the students received scholarships. The Anglo-Indian Community Certificate issued by the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations (Kerala) was accepted and recognised by the Government. (38)

4.1.2. Stephen Padua: Anglo-Indian Politician

Stephen Padua is President-in-Chief of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations. He is descended from a seventeenth century family of Portuguese scholars and navigators in Lisbon. Padua possesses a confidence in the future of the community.

He combines a collegial and political organizational pattern in his association. Authority is ratified from below but there is a sense of authority from his own personal power. Although there are equality of rights in policy-making, Padua bases policies on compromise between

the groups in his association. He derives his influence from the interested groups.

Padua organised the meeting of thirty-three men and women who travelled from all over Kerala to meet the researcher. (See Appendices 1-3). He displayed both his political and collegial skills during the group meeting. He was aware that to form coalitions and exert pressure on decision-makers was important, but he persuaded people and appealed to reason. Padua's skills are vital to the future of the Anglo-Indian community.

Padua encouraged the formation of the All Kerala Anglo-Indian Youth Movement. This youth movement has twenty two branches. He has also been involved with the financial position of the Union and involves himself in fund raising activities.

The money collected through these activities is invested into education. One seat for medicine was reserved for Anglo-Indian students. Free education was started in 1972 and land was sanctioned to the Vengola Colony for a settlement of Anglo-Indians. Members of the community were elected to the Senates of the Universities of Kerala and Cochin.

In 1990, the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations (Kerala State) was flourishing, and the meeting between the researcher and its representatives was very useful. It helped the researcher to position this group of Anglo-Indians within the main body of Anglo-Indians described in the thesis.

A member of the South Indian Union of Anglo-Indian Associations stated that the All-India Anglo-Indian Association did not accept the Anglo-Indians in Kerala. They were referred to as either Feringhees (foreigners) or

Indian Christians, but not as Anglo-Indians.

Sir Henry Gidney recognised the Keralite Anglo-Indians in 1936 by visiting them. Frank Anthony the next leader of the Anglo-Indians recognised them in 1944. But, they were de-recognised as Anglo-Indians in 1953.

Their Portuguese ethnicity is distinctively an historical one. Kerala was once the State of Travancore and Cochin. However, this does not mean that the definition of an Anglo-Indian cannot be applied to them, just because they were not ruled by the British. This research recognises the ethnicity of the Keralite Anglo-Indians, because the definition of the Constitution of India identifies their Anglo-Indian ethnicity. They are Anglo-Indians because their racial characteristics (European and Indian), language (English) and religion (Christianity) are defined in the Constitution of India.

Their status as Other Backward Classes has ensured that these Anglo-Indians receive positive discrimination from the government for places in Universities and government jobs. They are successful Anglo-Indians, coordinate bilinguals who speak English and Malayalam interchangeably. They have made an impact on the creation of the theory-practice model for Anglo-Indian schools. (Ch.9)

Many of the respondents from South India deplore the present situation, which they feel is counterproductive and prejudicial. Instead of forging together under the acceptance of the definition of the Anglo-Indian according to the Constitution of India, the answers revealed that there had been little or no guidance and leadership to link the Anglo-Indians nationally into a cohesive unit.

The next section describes the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians in Shillong, the capital of the Meghalaya State in the

North-East corner of India. As the Indian Government regards this part of India as politically sensitive, access to foreigners is severely restricted. To point up this situation, the researcher, who had Indian citizenship at the time of her field research was stopped on four separate occasions and asked to prove her nationality.

In spite of these difficulties, the researcher considered it imperative to visit Shillong to identify this "lost" group of Anglo-Indians who had never been the subject of research before. The interviews informed the results of the size survey of Anglo-Indians and impacted on the formulation of the educational theory-practice model (c.f. discussion below Ch. 9 p.331) for Anglo-Indian schools.

4.2. The Meghalayan Anglo-Indians: The Descendants of British colonialists in Meghalaya

The mineral rich and tea-growing areas of the North-East Frontier attracted the Europeans who worked for the East India Company in the late eighteenth century. (39) The European colonialists married the Khasi women who belonged to a group of Austro-Asiatic people who speak Khasi, which is one of the Mon-Khmer family of languages, and is the only surviving one in India. By the laws of succession the daughters inherit the whole of their parents' territory, and the sons are sent to live with their wives. (40)

Ethnologically, the hill tribes of the North-East Frontier are primarily of the Tibeto-Mongoloid stock with a sprinkling of Austric and Dravidian blood. The Khasis and Jaintias belong to the same tribal community and live in the Khasi and Jaintia hills. The society of the Khasi Scheduled Tribe continues to be completely matriarchal. (41)

The Khasi Anglo-Indians/Scheduled Tribe living in Meghalaya are descendants from the European colonialists and Khasi women. This group of Anglo-Indians are for the first time being included in a research project about the Anglo-Indians in India, and the Khasi Anglo-Indians/Scheduled Tribe were eager to meet the researcher and participate in the survey.

In Meghalaya, forty three people were interviewed (see Appendices 1 and 3). There were thirty-five Khasi women, one Khasi Anglo-Indian/Scheduled Tribe woman, one Anglo-Indian man who was not a member of the Khasi tribe, five Khasi Anglo-Indian/Scheduled Tribe men and one Indian Christian. These forty three people were interviewed in Shillong the capital city of the state of Meghalaya.

There were two group interviews conducted. Seven people attended the first group interview. There were six men and one woman. One man was an Anglo-Indian, and five men were Meghalayan Anglo-Indians. They were all Christians, and were bilingual in Khasi and English. The Meghalayan or Khasi Anglo/Indians possess an Anglo-Indian ethnicity, if one accepts the definition of an Anglo-Indian in the Constitution of India. These Khasi/Anglo-Indians were descended in the male line from European colonialists.

In addition to this group, another group of thirty five Khasi women were interviewed, an Indian Christian who was a member of the Salesian Religious Order in Shillong, a Mizo Scheduled Tribe/Anglo-Indian and an Armenian woman were also interviewed. Anglo-Indians in Meghalaya do not register with any Anglo-Indian Association, because they are members of the Khasi Scheduled Tribe.

The descent in the male line from European colonialists and women who belong to the Khasi tribe is matrilineal.

These Anglo-Indians take their mother's name, and are therefore in the matrilineal sense members of the Khasi Scheduled Tribe. So, they do not use the Constitutional definition of Anglo-Indian because they reject patriachalism.

These Khasi Anglo-Indians/Scheduled Tribe respondents stated that they were Anglo-Indians when they attended Anglo-Indian schools, but adopted their mother's name after completing their secondary education. There was a purpose in this strategy. The Indian Government offers positive discrimination in favour of jobs and Higher Education to members of the Scheduled Tribes, and thus Anglo-Indians whose mothers are Khasi benefit from accepting Scheduled Tribe status.

This has shaped the decision for these respondents because policies of positive discrimination continue to play an important role for this group of Anglo-Indians in India. The next section is a comparative analysis between the Keralite and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians.

4.3. A comparison between the Keralite and Meghalayan Anglo-Indians

These two Anglo-Indian communities inhabit opposite corners of the Indian sub-continent. This spatial location explains why although both communities fall within the Constitutional definition of an Anglo-Indian, each may have difficulties in recognising the other as part of the same community (c.f. photographs Appendix 3 of Keralite and Meghalayan Anglo-Indians respectively pp.435-6 and p.441). On the mother's side, the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians are descended from Austro-Asiatic stock; the Keralite Anglo-Indians from Dravidian stock. On the father's side the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians are descended from Anglo-Saxon

stock; the Keralite Anglo-Indians from Portuguese stock.

This demonstrates the very mixed racial heritage of the Anglo-Indians and the difficulty among Anglo-Indians in agreeing who should be called an Anglo-Indian. Without such agreement and a global view of the community, Anglo-Indians have had problems in calculating the size of the community.

Both categories of Anglo-Indians attract positive discrimination for different reasons. Meghalayan Anglo-Indians receive positive discrimination from the Government of India because they belong to the Scheduled Tribe (Khasi).

The Keralite Anglo-Indians also receive positive discrimination from the Government of India because they belong to the category of Other Backward Classes. Positive discrimination takes the form of reserved places in Universities for these groups, and job reservation in Government service. But, positive discrimination has had its price - the label of being called "backward".

The powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association does not recognise these groups of Anglo-Indians, because the Keralite Anglo-Indians have accepted the "backward label," and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians are members of the Scheduled Tribe. Another reason could be prejudice against the community because its members are descended from the Portuguese and descendants of the Portuguese in India are usually called Indian Christians. The Meghalayan Anglo-Indians have been excluded from the Anglo-Indian community because of its acceptance of matrilineal descent, which does not conform to the Constitutional definition of patrilineal descent.

It is unfortunate that until now these two rather

successful Anglo-Indian groups, who have successfully exploited the educational facilities offered by the Indian government, have been excluded from mainstream Anglo-Indian life.

The next section describes the controversy over membership of the Anglo-Indian community and the continuing confusion about its size after the 1961 Census. More importantly, the next section raises the issue that unless the size/ethnicity question is resolved in the community the present Management Boards of Anglo-Indian schools will face a crisis. This crisis may result in a retreat in the face of interest groups who might wish to take over the management of Anglo-Indian schools. This fear is not exaggerated. It was made crystal clear to the researcher during answers to the question about size.

The next section also describes the leadership contest in the community and the powerful roles and position of prestige enjoyed by Anglo-Indian Members of Parliament and Members of the State Legislatures. Two Members of Parliament are nominated by the President of India; each State Assembly has an Anglo-Indian Member of the State Legislative Assembly nominated by the Governor of the State.

4.4. Ethnic conflict and confusion: The emerging political questions in Anglo-Indian education

The response to the researcher's question about size, brought out the political rivalry which existed among the various Presidents and ex-Members of the Legislative Assemblies who according to one Anglo-Indian

> ... all have ambitions to become one of the two Members of Parliament nominated by the President of India to represent the community.

(42)

In 1990, a problem arose concerning the representation of the community in the Indian Parliament. The issue of size/ethnicity surfaced and the answers to the question "What is the size of the community?" took on political overtones. The debate about size and "who is an Anglo-Indian?" demonstrated a lack of group cohesiveness and democratic participation.

There was frustration in 1990 about the appointment of two men as the nominated Members of Parliament for the Anglo-Indians. Anglo-Indians were concerned that one man was being called an Anglo-Indian

> ... by association, because he is an Indian Christian married to an Anglo-Indian woman, and the other man was an Indian Christian, who cannot possibly be the voice for our community. We have a political disaster on our hands. (43)

All the respondents were in agreement, that their minority voice was being smothered. Disillusionment with their leaders and despair that Indian Christians were now being nominated as Anglo-Indian MPs, became apparent during the interviews. The ambitious group leaders would

> ... soon outnumber the Anglo-Indians in their groups. (44)

There was also evidence of rival group leaders who

> ... spend more time flying in and out of New Delhi, to ensure that they are heard by the right people. The lobbying is fierce and has nothing to do with educational policies or seeking to eliminate disadvantage. All they are interested in is getting closer to the

> seat of power, that is New Delhi. (45)

There was dissatisfaction among Anglo-Indians who viewed these leaders as

> ... running only for seats in the state legislative assemblies of Parliament, instead of running our schools and looking after the problem of Anglo-Indians in the slums. (46)

By 1990, the confusion about the size or the number count in the Anglo-Indian community, became linked to the conflicts in the community about the ethnic difference between an Anglo-Indian and an Indian Christian. Size and ethnicity were inseparable in the response to the question.

There were long discussions about the ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian which lies at the heart of the definition of an Anglo-Indian in the Constitution of India. This definition omitted two criteria "the mother tongue of Anglo-Indians which was English and the Anglo-Indian's religion, Christianity," and therefore there was just a thin dividing line between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Christian. (47)

At the core of the conflict is the relatively small size of the Anglo-Indian community compared to the Indian Christian community. Anglo-Indians feared that the Indian Christians would take over the Anglo-Indian schools. If, Indian Christians were treated as Anglo-Indians, the Anglo-Indians' worst fears would materialise. They would lose control of the Anglo-Indian schools, and their minority status or ethnicity would not protect them. The groups and associations who have been so

> ... busy squabbling and fighting with one another, will have handed the schools to the Indian Christians, and that will indeed be a

> sad day for the community. (48)

The religious integration under Christianity in the Census has further eroded this minority's hopes for a separate classified heading as Anglo-Indian. Most Anglo-Indians do register with an Anglo-Indian Association, and since there are many different types of Anglo-Indian Associations classification is confused.

Some Anglo-Indians protect themselves by registering with more than one association, and there are Anglo-Indians who do not register with any association. The future of the Anglo-Indian schools is at stake, and group cohesiveness is the only way the Anglo-Indians can protect the future of the Anglo-Indian schools.

This analysis is the first of its kind in any major research about Anglo-Indians, which confronts the ethnicity issue and the deep fears that Anglo-Indians have of losing control of their schools to Indian Christians. The issue is,

> ... to get together, and stop back-biting, because if we don't get together and forget our prejudices, we are lost, we cannot survive, and you can talk about size and ethnicity or even write about it, and it will not help us. (49)

Although the group cohesiveness has enhanced group productivity, that is, the groups do manage their own schools, reducing intragroup hostility by directing it towards an outgroup, it has not decreased the feelings of security for the community. (50)

Without exception the ostensible objective is to reduce the conflict between the groups and associations in order to ensure that Anglo-Indians will continue to play a dominant

role in the management of their own schools. The vigour with which the respondents discussed the Indian Christian threat of domination of Anglo-Indian schools, makes the issue of size and ethnicity a serious one, particularly in connection to group belongingness and interaction and the safeguard of Anglo-Indian schools for the future generations of Anglo-Indian students.

The perpetuation of these fractious social relationships between the groups is not going to be automatically reduced. Amidst the sundry social relations of the groups the issue of size and ethnicity is central to an analysis of Anglo-Indian schools. The schools need to know who are the Anglo-Indians in India. The schools need administrators and teachers who are Anglo-Indians.

The Anglo-Indian schools need competent professionals. The argument can be made that, all

> Anglo-Indians are Christians but all Christians are not Anglo-Indians. (51)

Or,

> ... the schools belong to the Anglo-Indian community, (52)

and the issue is not one where the future of the schools is at stake, but a racial argument about **who** is an Anglo-Indian. In the meantime, Anglo-Indians are failing in their own schools. They do not enter Indian Universities.

Therefore, within two decades, even if one is an Anglo-Indian it will be of no value to the schools, because the community will have no professionals. The community will still be arguing about its own membership. The schools will be left to able administrators who do not enter the argument because they will not be Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians will lose their most valuable asset in India today - the Anglo-Indian schools.

If the issue of creating a unified Anglo-Indian front does not materialise within the next five years, the Anglo-Indians will be playing a subordinate role in managing and maintaining their own schools.

The blame will lie entirely with the groups and their limited vision and inability to collaborate with one another. The Constitution of India will not change, but the Anglo-Indians cannot take their minority status for granted.

They must cooperate and do this soon, because group cohesiveness is the cornerstone in the size/ethnicity issue and the separation of the groups in different, fractious, prejudicial "life-spaces" (53) has resulted in a network which does not display the cohesiveness of a compact community unit. Achieving a "life-space" which accepts the reality of life in post-Independent India by creating a unified Anglo-Indian front will ensure the survival of Anglo-Indian schools.

5. Conclusions

The main idea being pursued in this chapter is the size and ethnicity of the Anglo-Indian community. On the basis of the evidence collected during the field study, the size of the Anglo-Indian community is very likely between 300,000 and 400,000. This was much greater than the 70,000 mentioned by the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. (54)

The majority of Anglo-Indians accepted the Constitution of India's definition of an Anglo-Indian. Nevertheless, this acceptance was attenuated by biological and cultural "marks", which constrained their acceptance of the Keralite and Meghalayan Anglo-Indians.

The chapter described the fragmented Anglo-Indian community in 1990. There were various competing groups and associations. This impeded educational, social and economic progress. A seductive argument would be to put the blame on the poverty in the community, or on the by-products of racism. That would however, minimize the role the Anglo-Indians themselves play with in-group consciousness and closed ranks.

The chapter described the significance of the size data. This would enable educational policy makers to implement and select strategies and tactics for Anglo-Indian schools. There were no opportunities for a discussion about group belongingness. The associations had closed ranks.

The chapter explored the wide range of issues connected with ethnicity and size. Respondents accepted that if Anglo-Indians found it difficult to accept one another as members of the community, non Anglo-Indians would find even greater difficulty to accept a minority community divided within itself. The community were still

> ... squabbling and wrangling over an issue which was resolved by law in 1935. (55)

At this point the thesis is suggesting that, solidarity is a complex political problem. Clearly, since 1947 the social distribution of resources and the structure of educational interest groups changed independently of one another. The Meghalayan and Keralite Anglo-Indians had altered their bargaining positions by accepting the backward/tribal status.

Both groups now receive positive discrimination from the Indian government for education and jobs in government. Both groups are successful bilingual Anglo-Indians. The chapter is arguing that although they are Anglo-Indians albeit by another name, there are no doubts about the

racial characteristics of these two groups. In 1990, these two groups were not accepted as Anglo-Indians.

The chapter explained some of the reasons for fragmentation. These may be found in artifacts of social class and geographical differences in the Anglo-Indian community. Anglo-Indian associations which participated in the survey, each contained

> ... psychologically the whole within themselves, that is, they ... cognitively represented the group to themselves and acted in terms of that cognitive representation. (56)

The data collected in the field study supports the argument that, if there has to be a collective survival by all Anglo-Indians, the crisis can only be relieved by the ethnic pluralists in the Anglo-Indian community. The Anglo-Indians have developed as a community all over India, and there is a need to decrease the fragmentation, and improve interpersonal relationships.

It is the interpretation of the chapter that the data collected in the field study is purely quantitative. The size of the community acting with solidarity will increase resources for the schools. Solidarity will promote effective educational policies and will enhance the bargaining position of educational interest groups. The cultural symbols of the past which are the "ultimate ethnic myth" (57) for the Anglo-Indian can and should be removed. Solidarity would increase inter-racial understanding and improve cross-cultural relationships between Anglo-Indians and Indians.

The next chapter discusses the second issue (c.f. discussion above Ch. 1 p.30) which is language. The

Anglo-Indians' mother tongue is English. Anglo-Indians must also learn two Indian languages. These are Hindi and a state or regional language. Language forms part of the new armoury of knowledge needed by the new ethnicity Anglo-Indian.

CHAPTER 6

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.9 and 101) In 1911 there were 100,420 Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians have only been included in a Census for fifty years, from 1911 to 1961. Since 1961, the Anglo-Indian community has not held a census. Each association accounts for their own members, that is, Anglo-Indians pay a membership fee to belong to an Association which then recognises their right to be called an Anglo-Indian.

Some Anglo-Indians resign from the All-India Anglo-Indian Association and join another Association. (See Profile No. 582) Some Anglo-Indians do not register with any association. (See Profile Nos.57-63) There are groups of Anglo-Indians who fulfil the criteria as Anglo-Indians according to the definition in the Constitution of India but do not classify themselves as Anglo-Indians. (see Profile Nos. 586-590) These are the Anglo-Indians in Shillong who belong to the Khasi Scheduled Tribe. The Keralite Anglo-Indians are not accepted by the All-Indian Anglo-Indian Association because the Keralite Anglo-Indians belong to a group called Other Backward Classes. (See Profile Nos. 170-202) The researcher had lived in India until 1973. She was aware of the problems in the community. She had also conducted a correspondence with Anglo-Indians from various associations.

(2) Hedin, E. L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.40 pp.165-179 Illinois: The University of Chicago Press (p.168) In 1921 there were 113,090 Anglo-Indians. The 1921 census stated that there was always doubt cast on the actual figure of Anglo-Indians and domiciled Europeans in India. The Anglo-Indians returned themselves as Europeans and the Indian Christians claimed to be Anglo-Indians. Sir Henry Gidney was the leader of the Anglo-Indians at this time. See Chapter 4 for a description of this outstanding leader of the Anglo-Indian community. Gidney stated that there were at least 40,000 Anglo-Indians who had classified themselves as Europeans. Gidney's statement appeared in the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission XVI (p.313); see also, Census of India 1921, I Part I (p.231); By 1947, there were 100,000 Anglo-Indians. This number excluded those Anglo-Indians who lived in the Princely States. By 1951, there were 111,637 Anglo-Indians throughout India. In 1961 there were 223,781. Roy, W.T. (1974) 'Hostages to Fortune: A socio-political study of the Anglo-Indian remnant in India' 28 International Congress of Orientalists

Canberra, January 1971 PLURAL SOCIETIES Summer pp.55-64 (p.58).

See also, Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished Thesis Master of Arts University of London, Institute of Education (p.6); By 1988, there were 150,000 Anglo-Indians, see Abel, E. (1988) op.cit., (p.9) In 1988, Abel did not support the number 150,000 with evidence of a census or any empirical investigation about the size of the Anglo-Indian community. She stated that the year 1961 was the last census of Anglo-Indians. This census produced the number 223,781.

(3) Profile No. 159

(4) These one word answers were given by respondents in Bombay. The majority of the respondents in Bombay were Indians, that is non-Christians and East Indians and Goans, who were Roman Catholics or known as Indian Christians. The three Anglo-Indians offered a number as the answer to the size of the community. 75-103 See Profiles Nos. 75-103 and Appendix (Photographs) BOMBAY

(5) Helms, J.E. (1990) 'Introduction: Review of Racial identity Terminology' IN: J.E. Helms Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc. (p.5) The terminology "bi-racial connectedness" is described by Helms, J. who edits a book which introduces a reader to the terminology used in racial identity and ethnicity.

See also, Handy, C.B. (1987) Understanding Organizations, Third Edition London: Penguin Books Ltd. (p.85)

(6) Casas, J.M. (1984) 'Policy, Training and Research in Counselling Psychology: The racial/ethnic minority perspective' (pp.785-831) IN: S.D.Brown and R.W.Lent (eds.) Handbook of Counselling Psychology New York: John Wiley & Sons. The article by Casas, J. M. (1984) was relevant to the chapter on size/ethnicity. It placed an emphasis on the minority perspective. (p.787) The minority problem in India is discussed in, Copland, R. (1944) The Indian Problem Bombay: Oxford University Press; see also, Hodson, H.V. (1969) The Great Divide, Britain-India-Pakistan London: Hutchinson.

See also, The Sapru Report (1945) Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee Bombay: Padma Publications. The Sapru Report, which was published in December 1945, had a very objective account of the minority problem in India. It made a recommendation for an executive at the centre representing Hindus, Schedule Castes, Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians.

See also, Philips, C.H. (1962) The Evolution of India and

Pakistan (1858-1947) London: Oxford University Press (p.208) Philips, C.H. (1962) discussed the privileges offered to a minority like the Anglo-Indians in pre-Independent India. See also, Shiva Rao, B. (1968) The Framing of India's Constitution: A Study Bombay: N.M.Tripathi (p.74) Shiva Rao described the fixed quotas in subordinate services to Anglo-Indians.

(7) Makielski, S.J. (1973) Beleaguered Minorities: Cultural politics in America San Francisco: W.H.Freeman & Co. (p.10) Makielski's study is the search for power by the powerless. He examined the '72-'73 rebellion of black students at Southern University, Louisiana, and American Indians who attempted to withstand a siege at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The Anglo-Indians have also struggled to achieve power in India, and their rights are being protected by the Constitution of India, but the hope of this minority group will lie in the Anglo-Indian schools.

(8) Profiles Nos. 96, 174, 238, 246 and 341.

(9) The Constitution of India Art. (1974) 366(2) Govt. of India Press

(10) Indian Succession Act of 1925 Sec. 2(d)

(11) Profile No. 100

(12) Anthony, F. President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, in an interview which took place in New Delhi on 16 August 1990

(13) 1976 89 Mad LW 147: 1976 1 MLJ 275; see also, Profile No. 63

(14) See Table 1.

(15) See Table 1.

(16) See Tables and Bar Chart.

(17) See Table 2.

(18) See Table 2.

(19) See Table 2.

(20) See Bar Chart.

(21) See Bar Chart.

(22) See Tables 1 and 2, and Bar Chart.

(23) Cox, P.R. (1976) Demography Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (p.1). See also, Kumar, A. (1985) Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under

Indian Constitution New Delhi: Deep & Deep (p.13) This book is a mine of information for the reader who is unfamiliar with the rights of minority groups in India.

See also, Chitnis, S.(1986) 'Positive Discrimination: The educational advancement of the scheduled castes in India' In: D. Rothermund and J.Simon Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities London: Frances Pinter (p.109). See also, Borkar, V.V. and Kurulkar, R.P. (1987) Employment Experience of Weaker Caste Graduates: Marathwada Region, India. IIEP Occasional paper No. 73 Paris: UNESCO (p.55) See also, Malik, S. (1979) Social Integration of Scheduled Castes New Delhi: Abhinav Publications (p.166) Malik describes the unenviable position of people in India who have "lowly social origins" because these people do not receive adequate social recognition, although they have "improved their educational and occupational statuses." (p.166) See also, Thirtha, N.V. (1964) National Integration Jullunder: University Publishers

See also the following books for descriptions of the minority and communal problem in India. Jha, H. (1985) Colonial Context of Higher Education in India Patna University from 1917 to 1951, A Sociological Appraisal New Delhi: Usha; Naik, J.P. (1965) Elementary Education in India: The Unfinished Business London: Asia Publishing House; The Mudaliar Report (1953) Report of the Secondary Commission October 1952 - June 1953 Govt. of India Ministry of Education Madras: The Jupiter Press; Yaqin, A. (1982) Constitutional Protection of Minority Educational Institutions in India New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications. See also, Glazer, N. (1983) Ethnic Dilemmas: 1964 - 1982 Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. (p.234) Glazer's book offers a description of ethnicity as a complex interaction between bilingual-bicultural assimilation, and his work is a good introduction to cultural pluralism.

(24) Glazer, N. and Moynihan, D.P. (1979) Why Ethnicity IN: D.R.Colburn and G.E. Pozzetta America and the New Ethnicity Port Washington, N.Y.: National University Publications Kennikat Press. (p.30)

(25) Bowles, B. and Gintis, H. (1976) Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul. (p.14) This book is concerned with schools being responsible for fostering a legitimate inequality by which they reward and promote students and "allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy". (p.11)

(26) See Chapter 4 for a description of the Indian Educational Formula introduced by the Kothari Commission. The formula is 10+2+3, that is, 10 years of primary and secondary schooling, 2 years of further education and 3

years of higher education.

(27) Bonner,H. (1959) Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications New York: Ronald Press (p.66) See also, Shaw, M.E.(1981) Group Dynamics: The Psychology of Small Group Behaviour Second Edition New York: McGraw-Hill These books offer an analysis of the prejudice and discrimination which prevents group belongingness.

(28) This thesis rejects the word miscegenation for reasons offered in Chapter 7. The term miscegenation has been used by writers to describe the ethnicity of Anglo-Indians. The word was invented as a hoax in a pamphlet published in New York in 1864, entitled: Miscegenation: The Theory of the Blending of the Races, Applied to the White Man and Negro. See, Montagu, A. (1974) Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race Fifth edition New York: Oxford University Press. (p.445) Montagu's (1974) book is a powerful indictment of racism. See also, Block, J.M. (1958) Miscegenation, Melalenkation, and Mr. Lincoln's Dog Appendix B. The Term Miscegenation. See also the use of miscegenation in a Doctoral Thesis. Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) Adaptation In A Changing Political World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University Montreal, Quebec, Canada Microfilm. Abstract iii

(29) Casas, J.M. (1984) op. cit., (p.787)

(30) Glazer,N., Moynihan, D.P. and Novak, M. (1979) op. cit.,in their articles in the same book offer an enlightening and intellectual analysis on the development of ethnicity. The "new ethnic" is more concerned with understanding the economical, educational and social aspects of their life, and have moved away from only preserving their own language and religion. See also, Novak, M. The New Ethnicity (1979) IN: D.R.Colburn and G.E.Pozzetta America and the New Ethnicity ibid., (p.15)

(31) DeSouza, A. (1974) Indian Public Schools: A Sociological Study New Delhi: Sterling Publishers P.Ltd. (p.79) Although Anglo-Indian schools do not fall under the domain of the Indian Public Schools, this book which is DeSouza's research about the Indian Public Schools in India has useful information about the education of the wealthy upper- classes in India. The book looks at the Public Schools under a sociological microscope, and questions the justification for the elitist school. It also offers an interesting analysis of the inferiority complexes suffered by scholarship students when they enter an Indian Public School.

(32) Profile No. 100

(33) Refer to Chapter 5. See also, Singh, R.P. (1989) Educating the Indian Elite New Delhi: Sterling Publishers P.Ltd. (p.72). Singh's book describes the education of the

wealthy classes of Indians. It exposes the need these classes have for an education which uses English as the medium of instruction. See also, Aggarwal, J.C. (1976) Educational Implications of the twenty point economic programme: A New Educational Deal for the Downtrodden New Delhi: Arya Book Depot

(34) See Tables 1 and 2 and Bar Chart.

(35) See Appendix 3 (Photographs) COCHIN

(36) The Brochure was informative and was given to the researcher by Padua, S. The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations. See Appendix , "International Group of Anglo-Indians" and Appendix Profile No. 173 See also, Lewis, F.C. (1978) A Short History of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala SOUVENIR IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE UAIA 1953-1978 pp.51-8 (p.52) See also Appendix 3 Photographs taken during the field study in COCHIN.

(37) Lewis, F.C. (1978) ibid., (p.52)

(38) Lewis, F.C. (1978) ibid., (p.54)

(39) Elwin, V. (1959) India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century Oxford: Oxford University Press p.3 The researcher found all the information about the North-East Frontier Tribes in the Institute of Commonwealth Studies Library, University of London.

(40) Barooah, N.K. (1970) David Scott in North-East India 1802-1831: A Study in British Paternalism (An Extract from David Scott's Report on the Garrow Country - 20 August 1816) New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal (p.248); see also, Gait, E. (1926, 1963) A History of Assam Calcutta pp.311-353

(41) Barooah, N.K. (1970) op.cit., This book describes David Scott's Report, and is a study in British Paternalism between 1802-1831. See also, Butler, J. (1847) A Sketch of Assam, with some account of the Hill tribes, by an Officer London; see also, Robinson, W. (1841) A Descriptive Account of Assam, to which is added a Short Account of Neighbouring Tribes London; see also, Profile Nos. 586-628 Appendix 1. Appendix 3 Photographs SHILLONG and Appendix 7.

(42) Anthony, F. (1990) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: Contribution out of all proportion to its size to India's progress THE REVIEW AIAIA May p.12 Anthony, F. is the Nominated Anglo-Indian Member of Parliament and the President of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association. This Association is the dominant Association of Anglo-Indians in India and has a membership of 70,000 Anglo-Indians. See Profile No.550

(43) See Profile No. 152 See also, Encyclopedia Britannica (1974) Races of Mankind Macropaedia Vol 15 University of Chicago: William Benton and Helen Hemingway Benton pp.348-56. Racism tends to exist when there are physical differences between groups, e.g., "black" and "white" differences. But racism based on differences in language and behaviour tend to disappear more readily as "cultural communality is attained." For the Anglo-Indian this means accommodation to the reality of life in post-Independent India, via learning the Indian languages and understanding India's religions via a cross-cultural curriculum. (p.356)

(44) Profile No. 155

(45) Profile No. 156

(46) Profile Nos. 154, 160, and 244

(47) Profile No. 165

(48) Profile No. 245

(49) Profile No. 155

(50) Schachter, S; Ellerston, N; McBride, D. and Gregory, D. (1951) 'An experimental study of cohesiveness and productivity' HUMAN RELATIONS Vol.4 pp. 229-38; see also, Pepitone, M. and Reichling, D. (1955) 'Group cohesiveness and the expression of hostility' HUMAN RELATIONS Vol.8 pp. 327-37 In the Anglo-Indian community group cohesiveness occurs in small groups and associations, and this has enhanced group productivity, but Schachter et. al., Pepitone and Reichling agree that this does not always increase the feelings of security for the larger community.

(51) O'Brien, N. (1990) 'Anglo-Indians' THE STATESMAN Delhi June (p.6) See also, Appendix "International Group of Anglo-Indians" which lists all the Anglo-Indians who are deeply interested in their community. O'Brien, N. is the Nominated Member of the Legislative Assembly, in Calcutta, capital of West Bengal; see also, Profile No.157

(52) Profile No. 152

(53) Bonner, H. (1959) op cit., (p.66)

(54) Profile No. 550

(55) Profile No. 155

(56) Hogg,M.A. and Abrams,D. (1988) Social identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes London: Routledge (p.101)

(57) Steinberg,S. (1981) The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity

and Class in America New York: Atheneum. (p.262)See also, Santiago,I.S. (1986) 'The education of Hispanics in the United States: Inadequacies of the American melting-pot theory' IN: D. Rothermund and J. Simon Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities London: Frances Pinter (p.178); see also, Banks, J. (1981) Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice Boston: Allyn & Bacon. The multi-ethnic education model is based on providing a framework incorporating ethnic and linguistic considerations, and is the type of education model which had an impact on the educational theory-practice model advocated for Anglo-Indian schools in Chapter 10.

CHAPTER 7

THE FIELD STUDY: THE LANGUAGE ISSUE IN ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the empirical data collected during the field study on the language curriculum offered to Anglo-Indians in their own schools.

The argument is that the inability to attain fluency in reading and writing an Indian language has contributed to inequalities suffered by Anglo-Indians in their own schools, an issue that was explored earlier (c.f. discussion above Ch.1 p.30). The curriculum programme that was investigated is neither bilingual or bicultural. As a result, teachers' expectations place Anglo-Indian students at the wrong end of the ability continuum in learning Indian languages.

The structure of the chapter is:

(i) The field study in 1990
(ii) Teacher expectation and the legitimation of language inequality in the classroom
(iii) Pre-vocational compensatory education
(iv) Bilingualism: the way forward
(v) Conclusions.

The next section, on the 1990 field study, examines the educational experience of Anglo-Indians in Anglo-Indian schools. The researcher investigated the classroom as a non-participant observer. During the classroom observation, there was no contact made with the students.

The verbal exchanges between students and teachers were recorded by means of observational categories. (1)

2. The field study 1990: The cultural-fusion language experience of Anglo-Indians

In order to put the researcher's observations of Anglo-Indian schools' classrooms in context, it is necessary to paint the background to the language issue in India. Language is not only an educational issue. It has been on the Indian political agenda since Indian Independence in 1947.

The Indian Constitution recognises fifteen languages in the VIIIth schedule of the Constitution of India. The fifteen languages in the VIIIth schedule provide the majority streams in education. Barring Sanskrit, Urdu, Sindhi and English for which special provisions are made, the other languages in the VIIIth schedule are dominant in one or more states. Part XVII Chapter I, in the Constitution of India states that Hindi, written in Devanagari script, will be the Official Language. Art. 29(1) states that citizens have a right to a distinct language, script or culture. Art. 30(1) states that a minority

> ... whether based on religion or language has the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. (2)

To complicate the language issue, there are over

> ... 400 languages with innumerable dialects, sociolects, registers and styles, divided in four language families, ten major script systems and a host of minor ones. (3)

At this point this thesis is suggesting that, this complex fabric of communication had created a veritable sub-continent of Babel with powerful factions placing their political might behind either Hindi which is the official language or a state or regional language.

Anglo-Indians have a Constitutional right to be educated in Anglo-Indian schools where the medium of instruction is in their mother tongue, English. The Kothari Commission (Ch.4) introduced the Three-Language Formula during the sixties. Anglo-Indian schools have a duty to introduce the Three-Language Formula into Anglo-Indian classrooms.

The schools need to ensure that Anglo-Indians become coordinate bilinguals. In other words, Anglo-Indians should speak English and an Indian language interchangeably as their Indian peers do in the same classroom.

There are two cogent reasons for vigorously promoting coordinate bilingualism in the Anglo-Indian community:

1. Anglo-Indians who become coordinate bilinguals can use the languages as an integrative pivot between their minority culture and the majority culture of non Anglo-Indians. (4)

2. Bilingualism also influences the child's cognitive development, such as the higher mental processes of knowledge, thinking, problem-solving ability, conceptualization and symbolization. (5)

By 1990, the knowledge of one Indian language was compulsory in India. All students in India had to attain a pass in one Indian language in order to obtain an overall pass at the school leaving examination at 16+. The majority of Anglo-Indians either failed the Indian language examination at 16+, or dropped out of school. These drop

outs were the "repeaters", who were forced to repeat a year because they failed the Indian language examination.

The next section describes the experiences of Anglo-Indians who formed the minority group in their classrooms. The classroom observation revealed inequalities in language teaching and learning for Anglo-Indians.

2.1. Classroom observation

The difficulty experienced in carrying out classroom observation was the large age span of the typical Anglo-Indian school which covered infant, primary, secondary and further education. Specialists were unavailable in certain key areas of the curriculum in the primary school; the profusion of generalist teachers in the secondary stage of education was noticeable.

There was no opportunity to study the use of languages within the area of a pastoral curriculum, in order to investigate whether an Indian language was used by teachers to communicate with students and parents. Observation was largely dependant upon the time available to the researcher, and obtaining permission from the teacher to observe his/her classroom teaching. So, the researcher had no control over which classes could be observed in the core curriculum.

Anglo-Indian schools do not conduct intelligence tests, and therefore no IQ scores were available. Thus, the word intelligence is in one way - academic achievement. It is important to stress that the adjective creative will be used to describe creative products, the process of thinking, aspects of personality and environmental conditions in which creativity took place. (6)

During the classroom observations English was used as the medium of instruction for all subjects except the Indian language classes which used either the state/regional language or Hindi. There were seventeen non-participant classroom observations. They are grouped under ten subject headings. Five Indian language classes (8+ to 16+) were observed. These classes were in co-educational Anglo-Indian schools in the states of Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal. The Indian languages were Marathi, Tamil, Bengali and Hindi.

2.1.1. Four Indian language classes: Students aged 8+ to 13+ in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal.

Classroom 1: The Anglo-Indian students were chatty and easily distracted. They were asked by the teacher to work quietly. They spent their time completing their homework by copying it from the non Anglo-Indian students. Two girls did no Indian language work. They took out their needlework and worked quietly. They were ignored by the teacher.

Classroom 2: The Anglo-Indians spent their time "catching up" with incomplete classwork. They kept peering into non Anglo-Indian student's exercise books, in order to copy the previous week's classwork, ignoring the current language lesson.

Classrooms 3 and 4: The Anglo-Indian students segregated themselves from the non Anglo-Indians. No attempt was made to give these groups of students individual help during the lessons. The groups displayed similar behaviour patterns. In one school the Anglo-Indians (8+) went straight to the table for the "musthiwallahs" (naughty ones). This group spent their time colouring the illustrations of fruits and flowers in the Hindi text book or sharpened their colouring

pencils over the dustbin.

Classroom 5: The Anglo-Indian group (13+) of four students sat at the rear of the classroom. They were all "repeaters" and assumed the air of knowing it all. The teacher referred to them as "goondahs" (thugs) in a good-natured way. They were otherwise ignored by the teacher and the non Anglo-Indian students, as long as they kept quiet. They were not encouraged to read, recite poems or sing songs in an Indian language.

The teacher's expectation for both these groups of Hindi learners was very low. This created an environment in which their language skills were non-existent. Their body language was expressive. They nodded, winked, sneezed, coughed, dropped books, stared out of the window and generally drew attention to themselves.

The evidence from these classroom observations of primary and secondary students supported the fact that Anglo-Indians do not acquire an adequate second language skill through classroom exposure. Such children required language instruction which was different from that given to mother tongue children, and they are aware that they would not be successful speakers in an Indian language. An Anglo-Indian student said,

> ... my friends speak Hindi at home, and knew it before I ever started learning to read or write Hindi. I suppose I know English. But, now he speaks English as well as I do, because he hears English so much more than I hear Hindi in the school. (7)

A non Anglo-Indian student summed it up succinctly:

> I get more opportunities to speak English than Anglo-Indians get to speak Hindi. I already

> know Hindi because it is my mother tongue. I will definitely pass the Indian language examination, but this will not be the case for the Anglo-Indians in this school. They are bound to fail, and if you fail Hindi, you fail the final examination. (8)

These two students summed up the Anglo-Indian student's dilemma in the classroom. Parallel to, and partially as a result of these classroom experiences, there has been an uneven language development for Anglo-Indians.

A diagnostic assessment of Anglo-Indian student's Indian language text and exercise books revealed four disadvantages.

(1) Anglo-Indians lacked reading comprehension skills. They just could not understand what they were reading.
(2) The usage of vocabulary was very limited. The teachers' comments were negative.
(3) The recognition of Indian characters was insecure.
(4) The critical reading of stories in Hindi or a state/regional language was non-existent.

The next section describes the classroom observation of two English language classes (15+) in co-educational schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu.

2.1.2. Two English language classes: Students aged 7+ and 14+ in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu

English was the mother tongue language or language one (L1) for the Anglo-Indian student. English was the language two (L2) for the non Anglo-Indian student. However, English was being taught as L2 because the majority non Anglo-Indian students were studying English as L2.

Anglo-Indians exhibited language deficits in English which was their mother tongue (L1). (9) These Anglo-Indian students had average abilities in mathematical reasoning and visuo-spatial construction. The goals to be reached in an Anglo-Indian classroom were clearly in favour of teaching non Anglo-Indians the English language.

Here the chapter is arguing that, the single most important expression of the Anglo-Indian's cultural ethnic identity was being taught to them as a second language. The non Anglo-Indians were offered more assistance by the teacher: the Anglo-Indians were expected to show some independence because they knew English.

After the classroom observation a randomised examination of exercise books or folders was made. This was done in order to understand assessing and recording achievement in Anglo-Indian schools. There were thirty Anglo-Indian and twenty-two Indian students who offered their books. This exercise was carried out in two residential schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. The students were present during the exercise and commented on their classroom experience.

It became apparent that teachers were assessing all the students mainly for summative purposes. Teachers were assessing students largely for cognitive ability. There was no evidence of assessment of practical skills. There was no evidence that students were given an opportunity to assess their own work.

The assessments were largely written and mainly at the end of the course. The assessments emphasised failure and achievement. The standard of English among the thirty Anglo-Indians was lower than Indian students of the same age. There was no evidence of cross-curricular achievement. In other words, the skills or qualities of students were compartmentalised. There was no evidence

that students were encouraged to make appropriate connections between the various subjects on the timetable.

The next section describes an outdoor activity for a group of students (7+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

2.1.3. A nature-study ramble: Students (7+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra

The nature study ramble was conducted on a wet, monsoon morning. The students showed an eagerness to participate in the lesson. Although, the medium of instruction was English, they enjoyed discussing their "finds" with one another in Hindi, Marathi and English. See Appendix 3 for a photograph of this nature-study ramble.

The main idea being pursued here is, that the ramble created an informal learning environment for Indian languages. Students found out the names of plants and flowers in English, Hindi and Marathi because they were handling these plants and flowers. The questions were natural and the answers were given in a natural environment which encouraged learning.

The students were not studying an Indian language, they were too engrossed in getting information for themselves. Learning English, Hindi and Marathi was incidental to discussing roots, flowers, leaves and trees. The discovery of knowledge made this an exciting lesson. The monsoon weather did nothing to dampen the enthusiasm of this group of seven year olds.

The next section discusses the observation of a debating competition for students (16+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

2.1.4. An inter-class debate in English: Students (13+ - 16+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra

There were six speakers, one was a girl. The debate was held in the school hall during the last two periods of the day. Debates were regularly held and students were offered opportunities to speak; attendance was compulsory for this extra-curricular activity in this residential school.

During question time, none of the girls asked any questions and a few of them took out their needlework and knitting. At the end of the debate they told the researcher why they "switched off". The subject had been repeated, and the issues were all about,

> ... politics or war, and can be so boring. We are never asked to give any subject at all for the debate. But, we must attend, so, I do needlework. (10)

This extra-curricular activity did not afford all pupils opportunities for participation. The debate was on a topic which appeared often, and the experience did not offer the girls any training or instruction.

The next section describes the most successful classroom observed during the field study. The students (9+ - 11+) were in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

2.1.5. A combined Arts and Craft, Drama and Music class: Students (8+ to 13+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra

This was the most innovative classroom observed during the field study. The classroom gave the impression of an open plan. It was a combined arts class, with ninety children

working either individually or in small groups. The doors connecting the classrooms were opened and children moved easily between the four classrooms.

Some students were preparing for a drama competition. There were seven groups of about four children in a group seated on soft matting on the ground. They were singing songs in English, Marathi and Hindi. Two groups had boxes of costumes laid out on the floor and were discussing which costumes were suitable for the competition. Individuals were seated at windows sketching the scenery, some were painting on small easels while a few were measuring and cutting cardboard.

There was only one teacher present, and the classroom was visited twice by two senior teachers who stayed for fifteen minutes each during the two hour period. The teachers moved between the groups, and discussed with the students the work they were doing. There was an easy informality about the lesson. The students encouraged one another and spoke or sang in English, Marathi and Hindi.

The combined arts class was the school's method for covering absent teachers. It was successful as a learning environment, because the students participated in the activity in which they excelled or were interested in, and were given the opportunity of making a choice.

Ironically, students looked forward to the combined arts class which unfortunately, was not part of the organised timetable, became, as mentioned previously they only occurred during teachers' absences. This classroom possessed some of the ideas which the researcher used to create a theory-practice model for Anglo-Indian schools (c.f. discussion below Ch.9 p.331).

Apart from the fact that there were no specialist teachers

present, the class supported students' personal development and understanding. It produced increased student motivation from within, because there were no teachers around to impose it from 'outside'. The main idea being pursued in this chapter is, that given an appropriate educational environment Anglo-Indian children can become fluent communicators in an Indian language. From an educational point of view, this type of classroom allowed children to explore language communication in an environment where they were discovering how to be imaginative.

The Anglo-Indian students had the power to produce things and were able to make things. They composed with words and music, fashioned with materials and most important of all, took control over their own learning. They displayed flexibility as they moved from one completed activity to another. They showed originality in the interpretation of their choices and could elaborate confidently on the outcome of the activity in just three classroom observations. These were a nature-study ramble, a combined arts' class and a self-defence class. (c.f. discussion above in Ch. 7 p.256, pp.257-258 and discussion below p.260).
The next section describes a music class for students (8+-12+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

2.1.6. A Western Music class: Students (11+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra

This class of eighteen boys and girls sang songs in English and copying out the words. While they were doing this, the teacher attempted to play the music. Being an indifferent pianist on an ill-tuned piano, he gave up playing the instrument and half way through the lesson decided to play the guitar. The teacher could barely play the piano and

accompany the students, because he did not have an efficient knowledge of guitar chords. The piano was not tuned and some of the keys produced no sounds. Both teacher and students appeared to be relieved when the bell rang.

The reluctance of administrators to confront the incompetent teacher can be overcome if the school adopts a systematic approach to teacher evaluation. This school had failed to provide the teacher with assistance in an effort to improve his performance in the class. The teacher related to the researcher that this was the first time he was being given meaningful feedback on the lesson.

The argument is that Anglo-Indian schools need to consider their staff development strategy as an integral part of the school management structure. This teacher needed help to do his job more effectively. There is an increasing pressure for quality within the classroom. The chapter argues the case for the involvement of a well informed staff who participate in their own development.

The next section describes a self-defence class for students (15+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

2.1.7. A self-defence class (15+) in a co-educational school in Maharashtra.

The class was conducted in the school's main hall. The school did not possess a gymnasium. There were thirty two students present. Although the medium of instruction was English, the instructions were given in Tamil to the students. Hindi film songs were played on a cassette recorder throughout the lesson. The lesson had a high level of participation by all the students. Anglo-Indian students spoke English, Tamil and Hindi during this lesson.

2.1.8. A computer studies class (16+) in a co-educational school in Tamil Nadu

There were twelve students in this class. The four Anglo-Indians were grouped around one computer. They were attentive and answered questions correctly. However, this class was the lowest ability class in computer studies in the 16+ age range.

2.1.9. A typing class (18+ - 20+) in a girls' school in West Bengal

There were forty young women in this class. The Anglo-Indians were either poor spellers, could not write Bengali or were drop outs from other schools. There was one Anglo-Indian woman (18+) who was the exception. She typed an adaptation of Randall Jarrell's poem "A Girl in a Library" and gave it to the researcher during the typing class. Her poem summed up her educational experience of Indian language teaching and learning in an Anglo-Indian school.

> I'm studying typing ...
> If only I were not!
> Assignments, recipes, the Official Rulebook of
> Basketball - ah let them go, I needn't mind.
> I've Hindi to learn and Bengali to understand
> -
>
> My soul has no other assignments, neither
> cooks
> Nor referees: It wastes its time - because
> it's
> Hindi time! It wastes its time - because it's
> Hindi time! (11)

This was an example of Anglo-Indian talent which was wasted. Her knowledge of English was excellent, but she

was a failure because she could not speak, read and write Hindi. If, in the light of the 'comment' made by this young Anglo-Indian woman, student motivation is to increase and develop, then teachers need to consider their role, their authority and to pay attention to these student messages.

2.1.10 Four pre-vocational education classes (13+ - 16+) in co-educational schools in Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal and Karnataka.

In the modular planning (12) the students had little say in what they actually learned. In other words, negotiation or goal setting which was built on mutual agreement was non-existent. The curriculum was not built into the organisational framework of the school because there were no descriptions of the course, what it was particularly relevant to, form of assessment, duration or certification.

Two schools in Maharashtra and West Bengal offered girls the skills of shorthand and typing. In two residential schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and one day school in Karnataka, Anglo-Indian girls were taught the skills of Food and Nutrition (cookery), Fashion Design (needlework) and Cosmeticology (make-up). The boys were being encouraged to learn the skills of welding, carpentry and market gardening. These non-negotiable pre-vocational modules were offered to Anglo-Indian girls and boys.

These seventeen classroom observations offered the researcher an opportunity to watch children learning languages in a wide range of educational settings. The combined arts class, the nature ramble and the self-defence classes, genuinely created opportunities for students to use their bilingual and multilingual skills within a varied number of activities. During these classes, the students

exercised learner choice, that is, they had control over the outcome for each lesson.

Students were encouraged to talk to the class about their "finds" on the nature ramble and these "finds" were displayed on tables after the ramble. During the combined arts class, students selected one another's art or craft work for display on classroom notice boards. They listened attentively to a group singing or acting and were enthusiastic about one another's sketches and paintings.

During the self-defence class the skills were more enhanced than taught. This implied that the skills were an improvement of what was already there. What did seem reassuring was that the follow-up of this enhancement programme of existing skills suggested that a form of creativity was being learned while communicating in a multilingual classroom environment.

These creative activity classes posed the question on the desirability of widening the choices of learners, so that students were more involved in making a decision about when and how to do language learning in an environment which they selected.

In the other fourteen classes which were observed, Anglo-Indians were misfits in the ability settings for learning an Indian language. Their ability in English was frustrated by the lack of a stimulating setting for mother tongue learners. The language teaching environment in Anglo-Indian classrooms disadvantaged these minority students.

The Anglo-Indian misfits and rebels were created in the classroom because of the contradictory nature of teaching languages which reversed the bilingual skills of Anglo-Indians. L1, the mother tongue, English, was taught to

Anglo-Indians as L2, a second language. L2, an Indian language, was taught to Anglo-Indians as L1. The needs of the non Anglo-Indian majority dictated the language curriculum at the expense of the needs of the Anglo- Indian minority thus overturning the very reason for the existence of Anglo-Indian schools.

During the classroom observation and the diagnostic assessment of Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian's exercise books clearly showed that the latter with their cross linguistic skills had acquired modes of expression in English which were not there in their own Language One. An obvious enrichment had occurred. The Anglo-Indians had lost an enrichment process because they lacked cross linguistic skills in an Indian language. The Anglo-Indian students' work in an Indian language was below the standard of the Indian students' work in the English language.

Thus, there seemed to be no evidence in non Anglo-Indians that the acquisition of Language Two, English, had led to the extinction of Language One, their mother tongue. The schools were successful in implementing a language curriculum policy which enabled non Anglo-Indian students to learn English and an Indian language.

The Anglo-Indians on the other hand had become language impoverished by the curriculum. The classroom reversed their language skills , leading to a deskilling in English and failure in an Indian language examination. These language reversal experiences created a minority group of students who felt insecure or who "switched off" learning anything at all.

The next section will discuss the reaction to the question which concerned language education in Anglo-Indian schools.

2.2. The Language Question: Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian responses

The question asked of all the adult respondents in the field study was:

> **What is your perspective of the Anglo-Indian Community's need with regard to Language and Education?**

Respondents' reactions could be placed into two categories. The first category was a brief response made to the question; the second was a more detailed discussion about what Anglo-Indians needed in their classrooms and why they needed to learn English and an Indian language in India today.

There were three types of responses to this question. The first centred on the inadequate time spent on learning an Indian language in an Anglo-Indian school.

> Language education, that is, not only English but learning an Indian language should take up a substantial part of the Anglo-Indian student's time. (13)

The second response centred on the frustration felt by Anglo-Indian teachers who were monolingual, and the inadequate In-Service Training (INSET) offered to them to learn an Indian language. Anglo-Indian teachers were frustrated with language policies in their schools.

> Language education in Anglo-Indian schools encouraged the Indians and not the Anglo-Indians to learn English and an Indian language. When we were students, the Indians were winning prizes in English and Indian languages. (14)

The third response focused on bilingual skills. An Anglo-Indian Principal referred to the

> ... reversal of all previous policies on language education in our schools. But, if bilingualism is the way forward, we can increase the number of Anglo-Indians entering higher education, then it must be our way in the future. But, how does one implement a bilingual policy without upsetting our rich non Anglo-Indian parents, who want their children taught only in English? (15)

The respondents listed four needs for language education.

1. The need for all Indians whether Anglo-Indians or non Anglo-Indians to learn their mother tongue and the state or regional language. The Indian language was linked to further and higher education and jobs. This was stated by all the respondents. (16)

2. The need to educate Anglo-Indians in the Three Language Formula. If not, by the turn of the century there would be very few educated Anglo-Indians who would be in a position to administer the Anglo-Indian schools. The minority community would lose control of their own schools and the schools would be run by Indian Christians. (17)

There was a growing fear among the respondents that the schools were not promoting Hindi and the state/regional languages to Anglo-Indian students as effectively as it promoted English, to non Anglo-Indian students. (18) This was stated by 82% of all adult respondents.

3. A "change was needed" (19) in the teaching of English and Indian languages to Anglo-Indians in their own schools. This was stated by all Anglo-Indian respondents and 65% of non Anglo-Indian respondents.

4. The need to link language education with vocational and technical education. Pre-vocational compensatory education was being offered to language-handicapped Anglo-Indians, but these

> ... vocational skills were being offered at the price of failure to pass Indian language examinations. (20)

The schools needed to create a learning environment to motivate Anglo-Indians, because a successful language curriculum would help to defuse the helpless anger and frustration experienced by Anglo-Indian drop outs.

The next section describes the interviews held with Anglo-Indian and Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools. Interviews with students were conducted in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Meghalaya. Interviews were not conducted in Kerala, because the schools were on strike. In Haryana, it was Indian Independence Day, a public holiday. In the Union Territory of Delhi, the Principal of the Anglo-Indian school made no response to the research.

2.3. The focused interview with Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian students

Thirty-two group interviews with students were conducted. The interviews took place either in dormitories, study areas, school halls, lecture theatres or classrooms. These areas were in Anglo-Indian day and residential schools, colleges of further education, vocational and technical schools and one Indian University. The interview was divided into two sections demanding verbal and written skills, in English and an Indian language. (21) Twenty six interviews were conducted outside school hours. There

were no teachers present during these interviews.

The reason for interviewing the students was to examine competence in English and an Indian language. The written word was important in the research, and there were opportunities for oral comments. All the respondents were encouraged to discuss a topic agreed upon by the group. Some of the topics discussed were homework, prize day, school food, the library, prefects, the school uniform, discipline and sports. The students were encouraged to advance a point of view without feeling it was necessary to conform to an adult's point of view. The written answers in English and an Indian language were simple, and centred on the respondent's family and hobbies.

The focused group interview was important, because all the respondents were involved in language learning and this was specific to the research hypothesis. The actual interview focused on the subjective experience of the students whose responses enabled the researcher the "test the validity" of the hypotheses.(22) The important feature of conducting the focused interview was the knowledge which the researcher possessed prior to the analysis of the language teaching and learning programme in Anglo-Indian school.

The evidence collected during these interviews of knowledge of English and an Indian language is discussed in the next section.

2.4. Evidence of English and an Indian language during the interview among Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian students

Whenever a student completed the written questions in English and an Indian language, she/he was asked to either recite a poem, read a piece of prose or sing a song in English and an Indian language. The majority of Anglo-

Indian and non Anglo-Indian students preferred to recite or read a page from an English book.

The English poems were by Tennyson, Scott and Tagore, with extracts read from Shakespeare's "Romeo and Juliet", Kipling's "Kim" and Forster's "A Passage to India." Only non Anglo-Indian students read from Indian language books. The Indian languages were Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Hindi, Khasi and Bengali.

When Anglo-Indian students had to read, recite or sing in an Indian language they always chose to sing. The song was usually a "hit" song from an Indian movie. In a residential school in Tamil Nadu, the group decided to sing their school song in English, followed by a popular Tamil film song. (23)

Students were asked to show any work/exercise books they had with them. Children in the primary school usually showed a drawing book. One school insisted that each drawing had to be described using English and an Indian language. In the secondary school a popular choice was a book which was devoted to a topic. The topics were usually free choices, and the topic was always written in English.

2.4.1. Summary of language skills among Anglo-Indians.

(1) All Anglo-Indian students could speak English.
42% could not read English fluently.
60% wrote sentences with spelling errors.
22% of Anglo-Indian students stated that English was not their favourite subject.

(2) All Anglo-Indian students could write their names in an Indian language.

(3) 85% of Anglo-Indian students could not write simple sentences in an Indian language, without asking

for assistance either from a teacher or another student.

15% made no effort to participate in the Indian language section of the interview.

(4) None of the Anglo-Indian students stated that they read books in an Indian language outside the classroom.

(5) 12% of Anglo-Indian students had read a story in an Indian language during the past week.

(6) None of the Anglo-Indian students had participated in a school play which was in an Indian language.

(7) 14% stated that their parents spoke an Indian language.

10% could read an Indian language.

9% could write in an Indian language.

Anglo-Indian students had a language attitude which was linked to their cultural and social position in Indian society. They possessed a mentalist view which gave rise to certain forms of behaviour in the classroom. (24) One Anglo-Indian student said,

> English is very important to me. English is very important to my Indian friends. English is spoken all over the world, and sometimes I think I don't need any other language. (25)

This young student possessed a discernible level of prejudice towards learning an Indian language. He had created a barrier which had endured and damaged his cross-cultural relationship with non Anglo-Indian culture. (26) What this young student needed was to learn an Indian language in an integrated experience with other subjects.

The classroom observation conducted during the field study offered evidence of effective teaching and learning in a bilingual environment. However, in this context, it was not the intention of the teachers to teach an Indian

language. The Anglo-Indian students learned an Indian language. The learning although it was accidental was most effective.

There was evidence of Anglo-Indians speaking Indian languages, but they found it either difficult or impossible to write in an Indian language. The next section describes the Indian languages spoken by the adult and student respondents.

2.5. Languages spoken by the respondents: Analysis of Field Study Data and Charts

There were ten languages spoken by the six hundred and twenty eight respondents (27) see Table 1 on page 273. English was spoken by all the respondents. Hindi was spoken by three hundred and ninety-nine respondents. The next largest spoken Indian language was Tamil - one hundred and forty-four of the respondents spoke it. In almost all the cities, Anglo-Indians claimed to speak two Indian languages.

In Table 1 the two Khasi women and the two European women spoke French. This was the only evidence of another European language besides English, which was spoken by the respondents.

The students were aware that they had not developed an efficient knowledge of Hindi and/or the regional/state language. In a residential school in Maharashtra, Marathi and Hindi languages were encouraged and spoken outside the classroom by Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians. Coordinate bilingualism was found in Meghalaya and Kerala. This is an ability to speak two languages interchangeably. In Shillong, Meghalaya, the students were coordinate bilinguals in English and Khasi. (28) In Cochin, Kerala the

Anglo-Indian respondents were all coordinate bilinguals in English and Malayalam. (29)

There was no evidence to indicate that all the Anglo-Indian respondents could read and write two Indian languages. Table 1 lists the various languages spoken by Anglo-Indians in the twelve cities. The Anglo-Indians agreed, that speaking a language was inadequate. The students realised that they also had to learn to write and read an Indian language. On many occasions, the Anglo-Indians admitted that their knowledge of the spoken Indian language was grammatically incorrect.

They rarely used the Indian language in a social situation, that is, with non Anglo-Indians. The reason was simple. Non Anglo-Indians preferred speaking in English to Anglo-Indians. The Indian language was rarely used in the home. It was used as a basic means of communication outside the home. One respondent described the spoken language as "bazaar (market) talk". Anglo-Indians felt inadequate in expressing themselves fluently in an Indian language.

FIELD STUDY: LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENTS BY COMMUNITY

Anglo-Indian (AI)	398
Indians (I)	182
Indian Christians (IC)	10
Khasi and European (KE)	38
Total	628

LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY EACH COMMUNITY

	AI	I	IC	KE	Total
Bengali (B)	28				28
English (E)	398	182	10	38	628
French				2	2
Hindi (H)	207	182	10		399
Jaintia				3	3
Kannada (KAN)	26	47			73
Khasi (KAS)	7		1	43	51
Malayalam (MAL)	33				33
Marathi (MAR)	26	16	6		48
Tamil (T)	143		1		144

FURTHER ANALYSIS OF LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY ANGLO-INDIANS

	B	E	H	KAN	KAS	MAL	MAR	T
Bangalore & Mysore		26	17	26				
Bombay		7	7				2	
Calcutta	28	63	30					
Cochin		33				33		
Coonoor		35	7					35
Devlali		33	24				24	
Faridabad		31	31					
Ketti		103	40					74
Madras		34	25					34
New Delhi		26	26					
Shillong		7			7			
Total	28	398	207	26	7	33	26	143

In Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu and West Bengal the women respondents became uncertain and confused because they had to speak in Tamil and Bengali and think in English, and this caused them to suffer from "mental fatigue". (30)

The next section raises an important issue in teaching an Indian language to Anglo-Indian student. During the classroom observation and subsequent interviews, the researcher identified intelligent and creative children. But, the teachers had failed to identify them.

For example, when some answers demanded a "yes" or a "no", some Anglo-Indian students drew a picture as an answer, offered verbal elaborations of the answer and used mime very effectively to describe their feelings. A few were fluent in articulating the reasons for the answer and showed an originality and flair for detail when describing a situation or person. The daydreamers, "musthiwallahs", "goondahs" and the Indian language failures were thinkers who could occupy their time without being stimulated.

They were window-watchers who were aware of what was going on in the class. They questioned beyond the simple "why" or "how", and they experimented with familiar objects in the classroom to see what else could be done with them. (31)

But, the teachers ignored them, never spoke to them without reprimanding them, never pinned their drawings on a notice board and correlated their failure to pass an Indian language with low ability. (32) The next section discusses teacher expectation of Anglo-Indian students.

3. Teacher expectations: Legitimating language inequality in the classroom

The argument made by teachers that Anglo-Indians were either lazy or low ability students (33) was founded on a belief that these students:

- did not want to learn an Indian language;
- also suffered language attrition in English.

The differential treatment offered to Anglo-Indians by teachers, was based on a subjective interpretation of social criteria. (34) The classroom observation and interviews offered examples of wastage of potential among Anglo-Indian students, who displayed intelligence and creativity.

Anglo-Indian teachers and non Anglo-Indian teachers stated that

> ... the boys were good with their hands and excellent sportsmen, (35)

and the girls were,

> ... neat and tidy in their appearance. Their good looks would go a long way when they get work as secretaries. (36)

Competence in language for Anglo-Indian students was given a low priority by the teachers. A non Anglo-Indian woman talked about her experience teaching Anglo-Indians in an Anglo-Indian school.

> Four years ago, when I joined this school, out of the sixteen Anglo-Indian girls in Class X, only two Anglo-Indian girls completed Class XII. The rest of the girls left school at 16+ and became steno-typists, because this was good money. There were no boys who entered

> class XII. I think they made good sportsmen, but seemed to think that jobs were waiting for them. (37)

There was a "hidden" curriculum which had to do with teacher's expectation for Anglo-Indian students. One of the saddest observations was the hostility of teachers towards Anglo-Indians, when there were attempts at joint activities, that is, Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indian students were expected to work together during an Indian language lesson. During these observations, the teacher's behaviour indicated a belief that the lack of an Indian language was correlated with a lack of ability.

During the field study only one Anglo-Indian teacher was a coordinate bilingual. He used his bilingual skills to teach mathematics and geography, and alternated the lessons with instruction in Hindi and English to the obvious delight of his students. This young man had attended a Hindi medium school near his home, because his parents did not want to send him to a residential Anglo-Indian school. Although he spoke English at home, he found himself quite often

> ... thinking and feeling in both Hindi and English. (38)

This teacher was on the staff of the one residential school which encouraged students who spoke Hindi and Marathi to share their expertise with Anglo-Indians and this provided this boarding school with a "multilingual dimension" (39) which other schools found difficult to incorporate.

The rules of the education game had altered. In 1890, the British offered immediate employment to Anglo-Indians on leaving school, and this inhibited progress into higher education. In 1990, the schools had failed to educate

Anglo-Indians as coordinate bilinguals. The schools had not exploited the potentialities of Anglo-Indians to enter higher education and to get an

> ... opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born and to come into living contact with a broader environment. (41)

It is argued that the motivational system of the Anglo-Indian classroom, whose teachers have low expectations of Anglo-Indian students, needs to be rethought.

The next section describes the incompatibility of language education and pre-vocational compensatory education for Anglo-Indians.

4. Pre-vocational compensatory education: An educational agenda for continuing subordinacy in jobs

By 1990, Anglo-Indians were still struggling with the image of the nineteenth century schools which encouraged them to learn skills and a trade for subordinate jobs (c.f. discussion above Ch. 2 p.63 and Ch. 3 p.90) A number of Anglo-Indians including teachers and students stated that Anglo-Indians were good with their hands (42) or were good in sports and "bag nearly all the prizes". (43)

Anglo-Indian women respondents commented on the compensatory vocational skills which were being offered in schools.

> ... we failed in classes because of the language problem, and it seemed the next best thing for the school to set our sights on the beauty businesses. (44)

By this, she meant hotel and catering, hairdressing and

modelling. Anglo-Indian women were being encouraged to enter service industries. Make-up classes were called 'Cosmeticology Skills'. Cookery classes were known as 'Food and Nutrition Skills'. One Principal justified

> ... the inclusion of cosmetic vocational classes because the girls need to learn about leisure. So, I offer it to them for a job-skill, and they are happy. (45)

Among Anglo-Indian girls, a gender code of vocational skills was being unconsciously accepted and encouraged. The girl day students were also involved with many household tasks, and found that needlework or cookery classes were important because they could get jobs as servants. Anglo-Indian men rely on their sporting activities to get jobs in factories and mills. Their hockey, football and cricket skills secured them positions on the team with subordinate jobs.

Some Anglo-Indian women respondents stated quite categorically, that the teachers expected them to fail and

> ... showed surprise that I passed the Class XII examination. They really expected me to flunk it. I'm a bit cynical about this anyway, because they didn't help me one bit If you try to do independent work, which is what they did not teach you, they call you a bombastic student. (46)

These failures and dropouts of more or less able children has persisted.

An examination of the prize-day awards in four schools supported these statements; that is, Anglo-Indians won their prizes on the sport's ground or in the craft classes. None of the English language prizes were awarded to Anglo-Indians. In one school out of a total of twenty-two

passes in Class XII, there was only one Anglo-Indian girl and one Anglo-Indian boy. The head girl and head boy in Anglo-Indian schools were not Anglo-Indians, and one Principal noted that in the last thirty years only one Anglo-Indian was selected as the head boy.

An examination of the prize day awards in four Anglo-Indian boarding schools and six day schools supported these statements. In an examination of three schools' Prize Day Programmes, there were only two Anglo-Indian boys who were awarded prizes in Standard 10 (16+) for Computer Studies, eight students who won prizes for Sports in Standards III to VII, and there was a general decline for prizes in craft after Standard VI. There were no Anglo-Indian girls who won prizes in these three schools. (47)

It was in the context of the idea of a negotiated curriculum that Anglo-Indian students were offered compensatory vocational courses. But, the negotiation was linked with the Anglo-Indians failing to pass the compulsory Indian language examination at 16+.

There were definite advantages with the apparent short-term goals and greater curriculum breadth, but these modular courses were offered instead of enabling Anglo-Indians to pass an Indian language examination. The modular courses were being linked with failure. The modular courses in schools tended to focus on the theoretical; there was no apparatus to set up a dialogue between theory and its practical application.

The next section outlines a comparison of bilingual research conducted in Australia with aboriginal children, the United States of America with Mexican, French and Asian children, Europe with Dutch children and Canada with French children. These research studies in bilingual programmes in schools suggest that the bilingual child

"catches up" with the monolingual child after increased exposure, and has a positive effect on the child's social development.

4. Bilingualism: The way forward for Anglo-Indian schools

One purpose for this study was to offer examples of successful implementation of bilingual policies in other contexts. Research studies have demonstrated that bilingualism can influence a child's cognitive development.

Bilingual learning programmes introduced to children of comparable intelligence and differing/similar socio-economic backgrounds have been shown to have helped to develop a flexible attitude. This was the result of having to frequently switch between one's two languages. Four significant studies of this are from Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States.

AUSTRALIA: Evidence has emerged in Australia, that at Milingimbi in the Northern Territory, Aboriginal children taught at school both English and Gupapuyngu (an Aboriginal language) performed significantly better than children in an English-only programme. The measures used were English reading, English written composition, oral English and Arithmetic. (48)

CANADA: In a landmark study in Canada it was found that French-English bilingual children performed better on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence tests than a group of French speaking monolingual children. In the Anglo-Indian context this can be compared with the bilingual skills of Indians compared to the monolingual skills of Anglo-Indians. (49)

The Indian students are "immersed" into L2, because it is

the medium of instruction, and the Anglo-Indians are disadvantaged in this situation, because they do not benefit from a similar programme in the school. In a separate study, involving bilingualism, the continual hearing of objects and events referred to in two different phonetic forms enables the bilingual child to realize that the relationship between a word's sound and its meaning is an arbitrary one. (50)

Thus the "immersion students", that is, the non Anglo-Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools perform better in bilingual learning than the Anglo-Indian students who remain monolingual.

EUROPE: In another study which described a bilingual's competence, "Kate" spoke Dutch and English as two monolingual children in one. She could alternate languages both at and within utterance boundaries (language choice) and this "code-switching" which constitutes an aspect of a "bilingual's competence" displays the "skilled manipulation" of a bilingual's two languages. Kate was not a "double monolingual" which is a reductionist and simplistic description but "fully bilingual". (51)

Further studies in Europe have suggested that the bilingual child catches up with the monolingual child after increased exposure, and the child's bilingual skills had a positive effect on the child's social development. (52)

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA: In an American study of bilingualism for students from Latino and Asian backgrounds, the children increased their commitment to learning English, when the Principals of their schools, who belonged to their minority groups displayed a strong commitment to raising the achievement levels of language-minority students.

In the context of Anglo-Indian schools, this means the Principals of Anglo-Indian schools and Anglo-Indian teachers should be fluent bilinguals, if they are going to provide the roles for effective Indian language acquisition by Anglo-Indians. (53)

The studies suggest that there were negative statements about bilingualism, that is, a smaller active and passive vocabulary, a confused, mixed vocabulary, less complex sentences and the misuse of idiomatic expression. The overwhelming results of successful bilingual teaching and learning should be considered by the Anglo-Indian schools. Language is an important dimension of ethnic identity.

The new ethnicity of Anglo-Indians means an important bilingual dimension of their ethnicity. (54) Bilingualism offers the opportunity of Reversing the Language Shift (RLS). (55) Chapter nine offers a theory-practice for Anglo-Indian schools in which Reversing the Language Shift can be introduced into an Anglo-Indian school.

5. Conclusions

The chapter described what Anglo-Indians actually experience while learning an Indian language in a classroom. A significant proportion of the data collected during the interviews focused on the subjective educational experiences of Anglo-Indian and non Anglo-Indian adults and students. Anglo-Indians were failing to learn Indian languages in their own schools. The standard of English language learning had also deteriorated for Anglo-Indians.

The chapter also described the low expectations the teachers had for Anglo-Indian students. Some teachers associated the difficulty in acquiring fluency in an Indian language with a lack of intelligence. Anglo-Indian

students developed deep inferiority complexes about acquiring an Indian language. This led to a mentalist view which manifested itself with certain forms of "deviant" classroom behaviour.

The chapter explored pre-vocational compensatory education Teachers described this education was "something better than nothing. They are failing Indian language examinations, so what else can we offer them?" (40) Anglo-Indian education in 1990 was once again being linked to education for subordinacy for Anglo-Indians. (c.f. discussion above Ch. 2 p.63 and Ch. 3 p.90).

The chapter outlined the argument for introducing bilingualism into Anglo-Indian schools. Case studies conducted in second language learning in Australia, Canada, Europe and the United States of America were discussed. The chapter demonstrated that the current language policy in Anglo-Indian schools supported an unequal opportunity for Anglo-Indian students to study their mother tongue as language one (L1). L1 was taught to Anglo-Indians as L2. This occurred because Indian students learned English as L2 in Anglo-Indian schools.

The field study also identified the double-bind in a "hidden" curriculum in the classroom. The double-bind in the "hidden" curriculum was a learning environment which did not fit their abilities. They were misfits in ability settings for Indian language classes. Their ability in English was frustrated for lack of a stimulating setting for mother tongue teaching. The Anglo-Indian student's Language Maintenance (LM) of English was shaped to meet the demands of the majority non Anglo-Indian students.

Teaching English has effectively served the interests of profit in Anglo-Indian schools. Language had become a finely tuned instrument in the hands of manipulative

educationists, who sought to expand Anglo-Indian schools because an English education was sought after by wealthy non Anglo-Indians. The argument can be sustained that although the schools exist for Anglo-Indians through legislation, they shun these very schools in which they are expected to fail.

The next chapter discusses the third issue which is religious education in Anglo-Indian schools. The focus will be on the actual practices of religious education for Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians. The empirical findings involved self-critical, reflective analysis and judgement by different groups of respondents operating at all levels of education in India.

CHAPTER 7

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) Research Methods in Education Second Edition. London: Croom Helm (pp.128-9) A Structured Observation Schedule for the Classroom is discussed by L. Cohen and L. Manion. This was used as a basis for classroom observation in the research.

(2) The Constitution of India, November 26 1949 with amendments of 1951 Govt. of India Printing Press (p.314 and p.230); see also, Yadav, R.K. (1966) The Indian Language Problem: A Comparative Study New Delhi: National Publishing House

(3) Pattanayak, D.P. (1981) Multilingualism and Mother-tongue Education New Delhi: Oxford University Press p.67 Pattanayak, is an outstanding scholar and Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages in Mysore. Bayer, an Anglo-Indian woman with a Ph.D. in linguistics works with Pattanayak at the CIIL. She showed a great interest in the research. In the chapter 'Education for the Minority Children" (pp.66-77) he suggests that the "relationship between the custodians and consumers of knowledge" should be restructured. (p.77) For the Anglo-Indians, this means an educational change in the theory-practice of language teaching and learning. See also, Bayer, J. (1979) 'Anglo-Indians and their mother-tongue' INDIAN LINGUISTICS Col.40 Part 2 pp.78; see also, Bayer, J. (1986) A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the English spoken by the Anglo-Indians in Mysore City Manasagangotri, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) In the Forward to Bayer's book Pattanayak, D.P. describes the Anglo-Indians as a "linguistic, ethnic and religious minority in India who are defined by the use of English language". (p.v).

See also, Gupta, F. (1979) A Sociolinguistic Study of English as a Mother Tongue and a Second Language in Fort Cochin Ph.D. Dissertation Kanpur: Indian Institute of Technology; see also, Spencer, J. (1966) 'The Anglo-Indians and their Speech: A Sociolinguistic Essay' LINGUA Vol.16 pp.57-70; see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978) English In India: A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India Patna: Janaki Prakashan. Sinha (1978) stated that since 1947 there was a "gradual lowering of the standard of English" and "English belongs to a class" (p.154) He referred to the different types of English from Anglo-Indian English, to

Indo-Anglian, Indo-English as the development of English in India which he suggests is a cultural fusion of English and Hindi, and is different from the British language.

In the field study, although Anglo-Indians spoke English fluently, there were a number of Anglo-Indian students who wrote illiterately, without grammar and there were spelling mistakes. See Appendix 1 Profile Nos. 111, 112, 116, and 118. Although, No.122 was the exception, who was fluent in English and learnt English in a hill-station school, and wrote the adaptation for Randall's poem she was in the same class as the other girls, because she had inadequate L2 skills.

(4) Profile Nos. 47-55, 64, 99, 100, 103, 238, 244, 510, 529, 551-581

(5) Profile No. 340; see also, Leopold, W.F. (1954) 'A Child's Learning of 2 Languages' GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY MONOGRAPH SERIES ON LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS 7 pp.19-30

(6) Lee,V. Webberley, R. and Litt, L. (1976) Intelligence and Creativity Block 6 The Open University Educational Studies: A Second Level Course. Personality and Learning Block 6 Milton Keynes: The Open University Press. During the field study, Anglo-Indian students displayed intelligence and creativity. The group interview involved activities which were related to creative activities. There were aspects of personality such as their interests, motive and values, which had a critical influence on not only their creative productivity but also language assimilation and accommodation.

See, Jackson, P.W. and Messick, S. (1965) 'The person, the product and the response: Conceptual problems in the assessment of creativity' JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY Vol.33 (pp.1-19). This article is also available in Reader 1 Open University Educational Studies; see also, Yamamoto, K. (1965) 'Effects of restriction of range and test unreliability on correlation between measures of intelligence and creative thinking' BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.35 pp.300-305

De Bono, E. (1986) Teaching Thinking Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. (De Bono is the founder and director of the Cognitive Research Trust, Centre for the Study of Thinking and the Supranational Independent Thinking Organisations in the United States of America. Fluency and argumentation skills were not always evident among Anglo-Indians, but if thinking "is the deliberate exploration of experience for a purpose" (p.33) then many Anglo-Indian students possessed thinking skills. These were overlooked in the classroom situation. In school situations information is packaged to students, but during the interviews the information was obtained by "exploring experience, by asking questions, by knowing where to look for it," and the students offered a

"perceptual sweep" which was challenging in its response to the questions.(p.82-3)

(7) Profile No. 247

(8) Profile No. 249

(9) Profile Nos. 109-114, 118-120, 127-151

(10) Profile No. 248

(11) Profile No. 122

(12) Warwick, D. (1988) The Modular Curriculum Oxford: Basil Blackwell See Chapter 4 'Options, Community and Pre-Vocational Issues'

(13) Profile No. 102

(14) Profile Nos. 475-487

(15) Profile No. 89

(16) Profile Nos. 2 and 340

(17) Profile No. 100

(18) Profile No. 46

(19) Profile No. 585

(20) Profile No. 99 (1985)

(21) The Student's Group Interview was based on descriptions given by students of life in their homes and schools. Topics were selected for discussion by the students, and they were encouraged to read and sing in English and an Indian language.

(22) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., (p.310)

(23) Profile Nos. 203-236

(24) Appel, R. and Muysken, P. (1987) Language Contact and Bilingualism London: Edward Arnold. Appel, R. and Muysken, P. argue that a mentalist view gives rise to certain forms of behaviour in the classroom; See also, Abudarhan, S. (ed.) (1987) Bilingualism and the Bilingual: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Pedagogical and Remedial Issues U.K.: Nfer-Nelson; see also, Ager, D; G. Muskens, and Wright, S. (eds.) (1993) Language Education for Intercultural Communication Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters 96; see also, Rivera, C. (ed.) (1984) Communicative Competence Approaches to Language Proficiency Assessment: Research and Application Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters 9

(25) Profile No. 247

(26) Ooka Pang, V. (1988) 'Ethnic Prejudice Still Alive and Hurtful' HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.58 No.3 August pp.375-379

(27) See Tables in this chapter.

(28) Profile Nos. 595-628

(29) Profile Nos. 170-202

(30) Profile Nos. 170-202

(31) Torrance, E.P. (1965) Rewarding Creative Behaviour: Experiments in Classroom Creativity New Jersey: Prentice-Hall

(32) Profile No. 374

(33) Profile Nos. 373, 376-390

(34) Profile No. 375

(35) Profile No. 153; see, Pestalozzi, J.H. (1894, 1938) How Gertrude Teaches Her Children: An Attempt to help mothers to teach their own children and an account of the Method. Translated by L.E. Holland and F.C.Turner. Edited with Introduction and Notes by E.Cooke. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. (p.17). The education Pestalozzi proposed was divided into practical skill and theoretical knowledge based on observation.

(36) Profile No. 160

(37) Profile No. 97

(38) Profile No. 238

(39) Profile No. 238; see, Houlton, D. (1985) 'Broadening Children's Linguistic Horizons: Some New Materials for the Primary Classroom' MULTICULTURAL TEACHING Autumn pp.31-5; see also, Weismantel, M.J. and Fradd, S.H. (1989) 'Understanding the need for Change', IN: S.H.Fradd and M.H.Weismantel (eds.) Meeting the needs of cultural and linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators Boston, U.S.A.: A College-Hill Publication (p.7) Weismantel, offers 8 reasons for understanding the need for change.

(40) Profile No. 240

(41) Dewey, J. (1966) Democracy and Education New York: The Free Press (p.20)

(42) Profile Nos. 451-474

(43) Profile No. 392-432

(44) Profile No. Profile No. 122

(45) Profile Nos. 475-487; see, Deem, R. (1978) Women and Schooling London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.35); see also,

Oakley, A. (1976) Housewife Harmondsworth: Penguin

(46) In this research teachers made remarks about Anglo-Indian girls and boys which reflected decisions about which pupils get special "tuition". For example, a man teacher said, "girls like repetitive work, and are anxious to please, and they worry more about their work," and a woman teacher said, "boys on the other hand have inspiration and need to be challenged." The option choices for girls looked bleak, with very few opting for careers and/or Higher Education. This should be an area of great concern in Anglo-Indian schools, because when a girl succeeded it was usually attributed to "her hard work and consistency" and not good learning habits.

The findings in the field study are also reflected in a number of studies about women. See, Curries, H. (1990) 'Do boys really need more help?: An Examination of why so many boys than girls get special help in Berkshire's Mainstream Schools.' INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH Vol.2 pp.143-50; see also, Ford, J; Mongon,D. and Whelan, M. (1982) Special Education and Social Control: Invisible Disasters London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; see also, Fuller, M. (1984) 'Black girls in a London Comprehensive School' IN: M.Hammersley. and P. Woods. (eds.) Life in School: The Sociology of Pupil Culture Milton Keynes: Open University Press; see also, Spender, D. (1982) Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal London: Writers and Readers; see also, Smith, C. (1973) 'Adolescence' IN: M.Smith; S. Parker, and C. Smith Leisure and Society in Britain Harmondsworth: Allen Lane; see also, Stanworth, M. (1983) Gender and Schooling London: Hutchinson; see also, Walden, R. and Walkerdine, V. (1985) Girls and Mathematics from Primary to Secondary Schooling London: University of London, Institute of Education.

See also, MacDonald, M. for a discussion about women's work. Macdonald, M. (1981) 'Socio-cultural Reproduction and Women's Education' IN: R.Deem. (ed.) Schooling for Women's Work London Routledge and Kegan Paul (p.78); see also, Walford, G. and Jones, S. (1986) 'The Solihull Adventure: An Attempt to reintroduce Selective Schooling', JOURNAL OF EDUCATION POLICY Vol.1, No.3. pp.239-53 (p.251).

(47) Profile Nos. 46, 55, 62, 155, 158, and 159.

(48) McGill, J. (1980) 'Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory' IN: T.Le and M.McCausland (eds.) Proceedings of the Conference Child Language Development: Theory into

Practice September (pp.195-205) Launceston: Launceston Teacher's Centre; see also, Dixon (1980) who has conducted studies among Australian Aboriginal communities and their bilingualism. Dixon, R.M.W. (1980) The Languages of Australia Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; see also, Slade, D. and Gibbons, J. (1987) 'Testing Bilingual Proficiency in Australia: Issues, Methods and Findings', EVALUATION AND RESEARCH IN EDUCATION Vol.1 No.2 pp.95-106 (p.96); see also, Profile No. 155

(49) Peal, E. and Lambert, W.E, (1962) 'The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence' PSYCHOLOGICAL MONOGRAPHS Vol.76 No. 546 pp.1-23; see also, Taylor, D.M; Simard,L.M. and Aboud, F.E. (1972) 'Ethnic Identification in Canada: A Cross-Cultural Investigation', CANADIAN JOURNAL OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE Vol.4 pp.13-20 In Canada, studies have been conducted among immersion students, that is, children who attend schools in which all instruction is carried out through the medium of the second language, and these immersion students have shown positive effects on both verbal and non-verbal intelligence. In the Anglo-Indian school context, the Indians are the immersion students and benefit from an immersion programme in the school, which teaches in the medium of English which is the second language for non Anglo-Indian students.

See also, Burgess, A. (1964) Language Made Plain London: The English Universities Press (p.118); see also, De Vries, J. (1987) 'Problem of Measurement in the study of Linguistic Minorities', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol.8 Nos. 1+2 pp.23-31; see also, Hernandez-Chavez, E. (1988) 'Language Policy and Language Rights in the United States: Issues in Bilingualism', IN: B. Skutnabb-Kangas; A.Tove. and J. Cummins. Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle Clevedon: Multilingual Matters U.K. Ltd; see also, Iiams, T.M. 'Assessing the Scholastic Achievement Cognitive Development of Bilingual and Monolingual Children', IN: A. Simoes Jr. (ed.) The Bilingual Child: Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes New York: Academic Press (1976)

(50) Leopold, W.F. (1954) op. cit; see also, Giles, H; Taylor, D.M; Lambert, W.E. and Albert, G. (1976) 'Dimensions of Ethnic Identity: An Example From Northern Maine', JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.100 pp.11-19; see also, Giles,H; Bourhis, Y. and Taylor, D.M. (1977) 'Dimensions of Welsh identity', EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.7 pp.29-39; see also, Leclezio, M.K; Louw-Potgieter, J. and Souchon, M.B.S (1986) 'The Social Identity of Mauritian Immigrants in South Africa', THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.126 pp.61-9.

(51) De Houwer, A. (1984) 'Some Aspects of the simultaneous Acquisition of Dutch and English by a three year old child' NOTTINGHAM LINGUISTIC CIRCULAR SPECIAL ISSUE ON APPLIED

LINGUISTICS December. "Kate's" unique development in the acquisition of English and Dutch suggested that she could alternate languages and spoke English and Dutch as two monolingual children in one. See also, Poplack, S. (1980) 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y Termino En Espanol: Toward a typology of code-switching' LINGUISTICS Vol. 18 pp.581-618. Poplack (1980) refers to this code-switching as the smooth transition between elements of either language and in no way distinct from the use of consecutive utterances in the same language. This was evident during the observation lessons which were creative activity lessons, when students used a language choice, that is, at utterance boundaries in Marathi or Hindi, which was in no way distinct from the use of consecutive utterances in English.

(52) Arnberg, L. (1981) Early Childhood Bilingualism in the Mixed-Lingual Family Doctoral Dissertation, Linkoping University, Sweden. University Microfilms, International No.82-70 003; see also, Grodjean, F. (1982) Life with 2 Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; see also, Volterra, V. and Taeschner, T. (1978) 'The Acquisition and Development of Language by Bilingual Children', JOURNAL OF CHILD LANGUAGE Vol. 5 pp.311-26; see also, Vygotsky, L. (1974) Thought and Language Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

(53) Lucas,T; Henze,R. and Donato,R. (1990) 'Promoting the Success of Latino Language Minority Students: An Exploratory Study of Six High Schools', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 No.3 August pp.315-40. The necessity for minority teachers to be fluent bilinguals is suggested in Lucas, Henze and Donato's (1990) research among Latino and Asian students.

(54) There have been negative influences on a child's learning of the majority language and the researchers included in No. 52 have discussed this aspect. The negative influences included a smaller active and passive vocabulary, a confused, mixed vocabulary, less complex sentences and the misuse of idiomatic expressions. Nevertheless the bilingual child who is exposed to two languages does catch up with the monolingual child after increased exposure. This exposure had a positive effect on the child's social development.

(55) Fishman, J. (1990) 'What is Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and how can it succeed?' JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 11 Nos. 1+2 pp.5-36. Fishman (1990) discusses Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and in the context of Anglo-Indian schools this means introducing a more Bilingual Language Maintenance of English and an Indian language for Anglo-Indian students. The emphasis, in other words, should be shifted from a monolingual instruction in English to bilingual teaching in English and an Indian language for short periods during

the day.

See Chapter 9 for a complete description of the educational theory-practice model advocated for Anglo-Indian schools. Fishman's research suggests that societies in Papua and New Guinea, Africa, South America, India and South-East Asia, bilingualism has been considered the norm, and bilinguals outnumber monolinguals. See also, Fishman, J. (1967) 'Bilingualism with and without Diglossia: Diglossia with and without Bilingualism' JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES Vol. 2 pp.29-38; see also, Smolicz, J. (1979) Culture and Education in a Plural Society Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre. Smolicz, (1979) suggests that bilingualism effectively eliminates the "painful process of the acquisition of a second language at school" (p.132)

(56) The studies were conducted by: (1) Berman, N. and Olsthain, E. (1983) 'Features of first language transfer in second language attrition', APPLIED LINGUISTICS Vol.1 pp.222-234 (2) Humes-Bartlo, M. (1989) 'Variation in children's ability to learn second languages', IN: K. Hyltenstam and L.K. Obler (eds.) Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, Maturity and Loss Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Humes-Bartlo's (1989) research suggests that students with low ability in second language learning exhibited subtle language deficits in L1, although they had average abilities. She advocated strengthening L1 skills and improving verbal memory. (3) Jakobson, R. (1941, 1968) Child Language, Aphasia and Phonological Universals The Hague: Mouton (4) Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1985) 'Language and Cognitive Process from a developmental point of view', LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES Vol. 1 pp.61-85 (5) Sharwood-Smith, M.A. (1989) 'Crosslinguistic influence in language loss', IN: K. Hyltenstam and L.K.Obler (eds.) Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, Maturity and Loss Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

(57) Berman, N. and Olsthain, E. (1983) ibid.; see also, Humes-Bartlo, M. (1989) ibid.; see also, Lambert, R. and Freed, B. (1982) The Loss of Language Skills Rowley, M.A.: Newbury House; see also, Manuel, H.T. and Wright, C.E. (1929) 'The Language Difficulty of Mexican Children',JOURNAL OF GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY Vol.36 pp.458-66; see also, McLaughlin, B. (1978) Second Language Acquisition in Childhood New Jersey, U.S.A.:Lawrence Erlbaum Associates (p.9); see also, Mitchell, A.J.(1937) 'The Effect of Bilingualism in the Measurement of Intelligence', ELEMENTARY SCHOOL JOURNAL Vol.38 pp.29-37; see also, Smith, M.E.(1939) 'Some light on the Problem of Bilingualism as found from a study of the progress in mastery of English among pre-school children of non-American ancestry in Hawaii', GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY MONOGRAPHS Vol.21 pp.121-284

(58) Berman, N. and Olsthain, E. (1983) 'Features of first language transfer in second language attrition', APPLIED

LINGUISTICS Vol.1 pp.222-34. In Berman and Olsthain's (1983) research among English-Hebrew children an enrichment took place in the acquisition of L2. See also, Jakobson, R. (1941, 1968) Child Language, Aphasia and Phonological Universals The Hague: Mouton. Jakobson (1941, 1968) states that although acquisition and loss are related, they are opposed, because mirror image in sequences in acquisition and loss are developmental. See also, Karmiloff-Smith, A. (1985) 'Language and cognitive process from a developmental point of view', LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES Vol.1 pp.61-85; Karmiloff-Smith (1985) suggests that the "cross linguistic influence" creates possibilities of expression in the acquisition of L2 that were not present in L1.

See also, Lambert, R. and Freed, B. (1982) The Loss of Language Skills Rowley, Ma.: Newbury House. Lambert and Freed (1982) suggests that language loss or language attrition may take place if one language is given more prominence, but the loss and acquisition are related. This research "mirrors" the research conducted by Jakobson (1941, 1968); see also, Sharwood-Smith, M.A. (1989) 'Cross Bilinguistic influence in language loss' IN: K.Hyltenstam and L.K.Obler (eds.) Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. There seems to be no evidence that the acquisition of L2 inevitably leads to the extinction of the L1. in Sharwood-Smith (1989) Also, in the Anglo-Indian school context the non Anglo-Indians do not lose their proficiency in L1 when they develop L2 skills in English.

(60) Profile Nos. 65-66, 164-169

(61) Iverson, B.K. and Walberg, H.J. 'Home Environment and School Learning: A Quantitative Synthesis', JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION Vol. 50 pp.144-51

(62) Birley, D. and Dufton, A. (1971) op cit., p.6; see also, Cohen, E. (1970) op. cit., p.223; see also, Widlake, P. (1986) op cit., p.72

(63) Coleman, J. et. al., (1966) Equality of Educational Opportunity Washington: United States Govt. Printing Press

(64) Fuchs, E. (1968) 'How Teachers Learn to Help Children Fail', TRANSACTIONS September pp.45-9 p.49; see also, Torrey, J.W. (1970) 'Illiteracy in the Ghetto', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.40 No.2 May pp.253-9
No. 42

(65) McIntyre, D. (1977) What responsibilities should teachers accept University of Stirling, Occasional Papers No.1 p.3; see also, Thorp, J. (1985) 'Accountability versus Participation?' IN: M.Hughes; P.Ribbins, and H.Thomas. Managing Education: The System and the Institution London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston pp.414-427 No. 9. This study

suggested that academic achievement is highly correlated with social class. See also, Rist, F.C. (1970) 'Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations, the Self-fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 40. No.3 August pp.411-51. Rist's observational study of one class of ghetto children in the United States of America took place during their kindergarten, first- and second-grade years. The placing of children in groups reflected the social composition of the class, and these groups persisted throughout several years of elementary school. The "Tigers" were the highest, followed by the "Cardinals" and the lowest grade were called "Clowns". p.434

The research which gave the initial impetus to classroom observation of Teacher expectations was by Rosenthal and Jacobson in 1968. Rosenthal, R. and Jacobson, J. (1968) Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupil's Intellectual Development New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

See also the following studies of Teachers' Perceptions of Pupils, which were relevant to ethnicity and social class. Adams, G.R. and Cohen, A.S. (1976) 'Characteristics of children and teacher expectancy: An extension to the child's social and family life', JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH Vol.70, pp.87-90; Coard, B. (1971) How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System London: New Beacon; Guttman, J. (1984) 'The Relative Importance of ethnic origin and study characteristics in the formation of Teachers' evaluations', RESEARCH IN EDUCATION Vol,31 pp.1-10 May; Mendels, G. and Flanders, J. (1973) 'Teachers' expectations and pupil performance', AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH JOURNAL Vol.10 pp..203-12; Williams, F; Whitehead, J. and Miller,L. (1972) 'Relations between language attitudes and teacher expectancy', AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH JOURNAL Vol.9 pp.263-77.

CHAPTER 8

ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine whether the religious educational policy in Anglo-Indian schools had contributed overtly or covertly to educational disadvantage for Anglo-Indians. (1)

The argument is made here that ethical pluralism should replace the present religious education curriculum in Anglo-Indian schools. This is because the ethically diverse groups which come into social contact with each other in these schools should be offered an opportunity to explore the place and significance of India's religions in their lives.

The argument is also made that ethical pluralism would contribute to and encourage understanding of religious beliefs and traditions. This would increase integration between Anglo-Indians and Indians and decrease the sense of isolation and marginalisation experienced by Anglo-Indians.

In order to set this discussion in a relevant framework, the researcher's past experience of a religious education curriculum in an Anglo-Indian school is also described.

The structure of the chapter therefore is,

(i) The researcher's experience of a religious education curriculum in an Anglo-Indian school
(ii) The field study
(iii) Conclusions.

2. The researcher's experience of a religious education curriculum in an Anglo-Indian school

Before Indian independence in 1947 the schools were linked to an education dominated by the Christian ethos. Although the British had adopted a neutral religious policy, in Anglo-Indian culture the emphasis was upon Christianity and Christian teaching schools. The schools linked education with Christianity (c.f. discussion above Ch. 2. p.51, Ch. 3. p.77, and Ch. 4. p.126) After 1947, secularism was one of the characteristics of free India. (2) It dominated the debate about religion and education in Anglo-Indian schools. The entire debate was fuelled by fears of conversion to Christianity.

The background of Christianity and education in an Anglo-Indian school was familiar to the researcher. The researcher's grandparents had studied in Roman Catholic missionary schools during the 1880s, in northern and central India. The researcher's parents had studied between 1908-1920 in Anglo-Indian schools owned by Roman Catholic and Anglican missionaries on the west coast of India. The researcher had studied between 1945-1956 in an Anglo-Indian Roman Catholic school in Bombay.

By the 1950s, a dual curriculum of Christianity and ethics, taught separately to Christians and non Christians respectively, was introduced in the researcher's Anglo-Indian school. This produced an apartheid, exclusionist policy which puzzled both Christians and non Christians. The policy raised doubts among the students about "they" (non-Christians) needing a moral education in ethics and "us" (Christians) needing Christian liturgy, Church history, the Gospels, the Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church, and committing to memory the entire Acts of the Apostles.

In spite of this exclusionist policy, non-Christians opted jointly to study Religious Knowledge (the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles) with Christians for two reasons. First, it offered them an "extra" subject for the school leaving certificate (16+). The Cambridge Overseas Syndicate Examination (16+) set the paper, and Christians, Hindus, Jews, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees successfully took the Religious Knowledge examination in 1955. Second, Religious Knowledge was taught by qualified teachers who had a specific responsibility for this syllabus. These teachers were members of Religious Orders. These Roman Catholic orders were the Society of Jesus and the Daughters of the Cross. Occasionally, a lay teacher also taught Religious Knowledge.

Ethics or "Morals" as it was known, was taught to non Christians by any teacher who was available on the timetable. During the study of the Religious Knowledge syllabus, an opportunity was created by the students themselves for a dialogue and reflection not only on Christianity but on aspects of Hinduism, Islam, Judaism, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism.

The classroom discussions reflected a pluralistic society. The merits of different religions were freely debated - no religion had a monopoly of the truth. Such an assertion would have marginalised the other religions and created an atmosphere of mistrust. The students had a mutual respect for one another.

There was no hidden agenda, which pressurised non Christians to change their religion. The dialogue between Christians and non Christians was meaningful, far-reaching and significant. As this was the researcher's personal experience which could be criticised as lacking objectivity, she wished to test this during the field research.

The next section describes the empirical data collected during the field research. The section attempts to correlate the Anglo-Indians' and non Anglo-Indians' experiences of religion in an Anglo-Indian school. The adults were asked one question (c.f. discussion below Ch. 8 p.301). The students were interviewed in groups. Questionnaires were handed to the students which probed their experience of learning Christianity and ethics which the students called Moral Education (c.f. discussion below Notes and References Ch. 8 p.313-4).

3. The field study: Respondents' religions - analysis

The tables on pages 299-300 show that of the 628 respondents in the field study, 398 (63%) were Anglo-Indians. The remainder were Indians (Hindus and Muslims), Indian Christians and Europeans. Among Anglo-Indian respondents all except one were Christian. This one exception was a Muslim in Calcutta. The 397 Christian Anglo-Indian respondents were widely distributed among all the cities visited. This demonstrates the importance of Christianity in the Anglo-Indian community.

There were no Hindus among the respondents in Calcutta, Cochin, Coonoor, Faridabad, Ketti, Madras and Shillong. The respondents in these cities were all Christians. There were also no Muslim respondents in Cochin, Coonoor, Faridabad, Ketti, Madras and Shillong. Among non Christian respondents, Devlali was the city with the largest number of both Hindus and Muslims.

FIELD STUDY: RESPONDENTS' RELIGIONS

	CHRISTIANITY	HINDUISM	ISLAM	TOTAL
Anglo-Indian (AI)	397		1	398
Indian (I)		148	34	182
Indian Christian (IC)	10			10
Khasi & European (KE)	38			38
Total	445	148	35	628

RESPONDENTS' RELIGION: PERCENTAGE BY COMMUNITY

	CHRISTIANITY	HINDUISM	ISLAM	TOTAL
AI (%)	63			63
I (%)		24	5	29
I (%)	2			2
Khasi & European (KE)	6			6
Total	71	24	5	100

ANGLO-INDIAN

	CHRISTIANITY	HINDUISM	ISLAM	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	26			26
Bombay	7			7
Calcutta	62		1	63
Cochin	33			33
Coonoor	35			35
Devlali	33			33
Faridabad	31			31
Ketti	103			103
Madras	34			34
New Delhi	26			26
Shillong	7			7
Total	397		1	398

INDIAN

	CHRISTIANITY	HINDUISM	ISLAM	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore		40	7	47
Bombay		13	3	16
Calcutta				
Cochin				
Coonoor				
Devlali		51	18	69
Faridabad				
Ketti				
Madras				
New Delhi		44	6	50
Shillong				
Total		148	34	182

INDIAN CHRISTIAN, KHASI AND EUROPEAN

	CHRISTIANITY	HINDUISM	ISLAM	TOTAL
Bangalore & Mysore	1			1
Bombay	6			6
Calcutta	3			3
Cochin				
Coonoor				
Devlali	1			1
Faridabad				
Ketti				
Madras	1			1
New Delhi				
Shillong	36			36
Total	48			48

3.1. The field study: The question for the adult respondents and the questionnaire for the students

The question was:

> **What is your opinion about the need for religion and education in an Anglo-Indian school?**

In 1990, it was a brave question to ask, because nationally the issue of religion was fraught with political problems. So, the question had to be approached with extreme caution, because any attempt to change or reinterpret religious education could well be treated as stupidity or fraud (3) by the respondents.

The question was asked to all adult respondents. Respondents who were students were offered a questionnaire. The answers by adults fell into three types of categories.

First, Anglo-Indians needed to be educated in Christian schools, because they were Christians. Their needs were enshrined in the Constitution of India which protected these Christian minority schools.

Second, there was a need for these schools to practise and not just preach religion and education. The need was to create access for all Anglo-Indians to enter these schools. There was a need for Christian administrators to practise the Christian religion and reduce the poverty and disadvantage in the community and

> ... render to the Anglo-Indians what is their right - a Christian education. (4)

Third, the respondents treated religion and education as separate entities. Education occurred during school hours. Religion occurred either before or after school. The

respondents discussed the need for a religious educational policy which would develop and encourage an understanding between Christians, and non Christians.

The next section offers empirical evidence which supports the three categories of responses from adults.

3.2. The analysis of the answers given by adult respondents.

Category One:

The Anglo-Indian respondents had not given religion and education much thought, because "Christianity was taken for granted in our schools." (5) Christianity

> ... must continue to be linked with Anglo-Indian education, because it was a minority community's religion. (6)

The issue of religion is a sensitive one and

> ... the unassailable position of Christianity in Anglo-Indian schools is protected by the Constitution of India Art.30(1). (7)

Category Two:

Religion and education were linked to promote personal development and increase opportunities for all Anglo-Indians who wished to attend these elitist Christian schools. The need was to eliminate the socio-geographical division between these upper class schools and the under class of poor Anglo-Indians because the poorest and the lowest in the community could not be educated in the schools.(8)

> Christian by name, but I wonder if the schools are Christian by practice? The schools do not

> educate the poor, so where does that leave the majority of Anglo-Indian poor, who cannot afford to go to these schools? (9)

Non Anglo-Indians were aware of the divide between Anglo-Indians and themselves in these schools. Anglo-Indians were being

> ... differentially treated by the schools, or even overlooked. Now, that's not something we need when mixing religion and education? (10)

Category Three:

In an Anglo-Indian staff room the teachers who had to teach Christianity to Anglo-Indians and ethics to non Anglo-Indians were looked upon with "pity". (11) The teachers were expected to conduct classes outside formal school hours, the classes without any formal training, aided by a few videos and a couple of illustrated books. The students were preoccupied with either completing homework, or were thinking of excuses to play truant.

The teachers were being asked to raise

> ... consciousness and promote honesty and even, now wait for it, create fundamental change. (12)

There was a feeling among the teachers that the whole issue needed serious discussion. Teachers found the whole issue of teaching Christianity and ethics "frustrating to say the least". (13)

The schools had not adopted an educational policy which promoted understanding between Christians and non-Christians. (14) The question was viewed by some

> ... with relief, that now we can discuss a

> taboo subject and bring into the open an appraisal about a non-existent syllabus. (15)

The Christianity/ethics classes had turned into a

> ... nightmarish experience, with untrained teachers and restless students. The former dragged their feet to the lessons, and the latter didn't know when it was going to end. (16)

The whole experience was "null and void". (17) Thus, the two-tiered apartheid system of teaching Christianity and ethics separately to Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians was not meeting the needs of either Indians or Anglo-Indians. (18) The curriculum was of religious education was never discussed, but somehow had to be taught to the students. (19)

The question was welcomed by teachers and non Anglo-Indians. Teachers found an opportunity to discuss a controversial subject, and non Anglo-Indians talked about the segregation of Christians and non Christians creating the first experience of communalism. (20)

The time had come to

> ...draw new lines in the religious educational curriculum in an Anglo-Indian school. (21)

The question

> ...was a bold attempt to force us to look at what we offer Christians and non-Christians in our schools, and it's precious little. (22)

One respondent was perceptive.

> The question omitted the word Christianity, and that means that we should create a syllabus for a multicultural, multi-faith society. (23)

The Anglo-Indian schools were described by the respondents as the

> ... meeting ground of Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Buddhists, Jains and Christians. (24)

The schools were not using this multicultural student body to encourage and promote policies for national integration. An Anglo-Indian commented,

> Tagore once said in the Gitanjali, that on the 'seashore of endless worlds is the great meeting of children', I'm afraid that this great meeting becomes a setting apart, in our schools. The schools have evaded the whole issue. (25)

Some teachers viewed the whole religious educational curriculum as a lost opportunity to get to know one another's religions, and to encourage students to discuss their own personal and social development.

> Nobody has thought about the problem, but, as you and I know who ever thinks about accountability in Indian Education? We are after all accountable to Anglo-Indians to help them to integrate with Indian society. (26)

The next section discusses the response by students.

3.3. The analysis of the answers given by student respondents

The questionnaire given to the students gave them an opportunity to speak about or write/draw their experiences of the religious educational curriculum in the school. (27) There were four categories of unanimous responses.

Category One:
The students agreed that religion was important in their lives.
Category Two:
They agreed that "what was on offer, did not interest them too much, and neither did it interest the teachers". (28)
Category Three:
All the students agreed that they did not want to be taught separately.

> Why should we have different lessons? Why can't we all be taught together about one another's religions? We never discuss one another's religions. (29)

Category Four:
They agreed that character-building was an important aim of education, but one student made a statement which was mentioned very often during the field study,

> ... something is missing in our classes. We are somehow made to feel separate, because we have different religions. Why can't morals (ethics) also be included in our classes, then my friends can come along. (30)

All the students were very tolerant about the importance of linking Christianity to Anglo-Indian education,

> ... because after all the schools belong to the Anglo-Indians who are Christians. (31)

They also felt that they should learn more about other religions in an environment which would increase their understanding of one another.

> We should be taught about one another's religions, particularly the religions of India. (32)

An Anglo-Indian student said,

> Christianity and ethics should be taught in another way, Religion only happens for me in Chapel. (33)

Students questioned the relevance of the separation between Christians and non Christians. An Indian student said,

> Why should being truthful and honest be taught separately? Why shouldn't I learn about parables? Nobody wants to make me a Christian. But it's good to know about the religion. My father is a farmer. We own paddy fields. I love the parable of the Sower and the Seed. My parents encourage me to attend these classes. (34)

Christians and non-Christians were dissatisfied with the religious/moral educational policy, which offered Christianity and Moral Education as subsidiary subjects. These subjects were tacked to or squeezed into the extra-curricular activities timetable. Students detected a reluctance by teachers, who found religion and ethics were uncomfortable subjects to teach. (35)

One teacher told his students that he taught religion and morals by sheer instinct, and the students commented on the ill-prepared lessons and feelings of inadequacy shared not only by the teachers but themselves. (36)

At this point this thesis is arguing that students and adults perceived religion and education reduced Christianity and morals to a null curriculum. This non-existent curriculum had limited the alternatives in Anglo-Indian education. The very non-educational aspect had blurred the Anglo-Indian's perspective of Christianity. It had reduced opportunities for a dialogue with non Christians and segregated the Christian Anglo-Indians in their own schools. (37)

One Anglo-Indian summed it up by stating that tolerance only comes with sharing religious celebrations and seasonal festivals. (38) Non Anglo-Indian respondents stated that they did not know anyone who

> ... had ever been invited to an Anglo-Indian home for any type of celebration. (39)

Christians and non-Christians had both experienced an alienating religious educational curriculum. A study of world religions was mentioned often by Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians.

> I think the schools could at least state that they have made some advance towards tolerance and respect, because knowledge about another religion is important and increases our understanding of one another. (40)

The next section is the conclusion and discusses the need to consider an integrative approach to religious education which would introduce dialogue between Christians and non Christians. The section offers suggestions to increase the opportunities for a shared religious experience.

4. Conclusions

The chapter described the non-integrative, meaningless or null curriculum experienced by Anglo-Indians and Indians in Anglo-Indian schools. Biblical, historical and theological knowledge of Christianity was given in an ill-prepared half-hour session either before or after school.

There was no evidence that a careful reference to the ages, interests and degrees of comprehension of non Christians existed during their moral education classes. Christians and non Christians were dissatisfied and bored with their experience. None of the students talked about conversion to Christianity. If, conversion can be mentioned it was in the context of conversion from a shallow and unreflective attitude to the teaching of religion in the schools.

The ethically diverse groups in an Anglo-Indian school felt a need to discuss the various approaches provided by Indian religions to answer basic questions of life and existence. The chapter discussed the position of the teachers who were not trained to teach the religious education curriculum. None of the schools had a trained coordinator who could implement a religious education curriculum which introduced pupils to ethical pluralism.

What this chapter is arguing is that the insights provided by the various Indian religions should be taught in the context of personal, social and ethical problems. This will require training for the teachers in Anglo-Indian schools. The chapter is also arguing that allocating resources for training in pre- and in-service education for teachers should be emphasised and that ethical pluralism in the religious education curriculum can be taught in Anglo-Indian schools. It is in the hands of the educationists. The staff room joke about who is going to take the R.E.

(religious education) lesson will be an episode of the past.

It would be educationally unrealistic to propose that all pupils must study the entire Bible, Qur'an, Bhagavadgita, Upanisads and the Buddhist scriptures. This would lead to superficiality, even if there were enough teachers who possessed the necessary qualifications.

Communication could help break down communalism in the classrooms, through a policy and programme which has identified weak areas in the delivery of the religious education curriculum. The Anglo-Indian schools have the power to implement educational change.

The chapter has described how Anglo-Indian and Indian students come into close social contact with one another in these schools. These students will eventually work with one another, intermarry or participate in common economic and cultural activities. Ethical pluralism allows the Anglo-Indians to reduce the conditions of apartheid which they experience in Indian society.

What has been said in this chapter by the respondents is only the barest outline of an argument which supports the necessity for educational change. The next chapter describes the implementation of changing practice in the classroom. The theory-practice model is designed to increase learning and improve student achievement. This theory-practice model is not intended to only establish specific new activities. It is also concerned with assessing achievement.

Thus, the theory-practice model will raise questions about the data collected in chapters seven and eight. Anglo-Indians are failing in Indian languages and are increasingly isolated in Indian society.

The question that Anglo-Indian educationists need to ask, is what do they want for their schools? In other words, the theory-practice model will only succeed if the effective principles and plans laid down are recognised. The change is dependent solely on what teachers do and are prepared to do in the classroom for Anglo-Indian pupils.

CHAPTER 8

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Baptist Mission Report or The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) Pilot Survey of Socio-economic conditions of the Anglo-Indian community 1957-1958 Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. See also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University. Ann Arbor, Mi. 48105: University Microfilms International N.L. See, Gidney, H., (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. XXI pp.657-662. See also, Nundy, A. (1900) 'The Eurasian Problem in India' THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD Vol.9 Part 17018 (pp.56-73). See also, Wright, R.D. (1970) Marginal Man in Transition: A Study of the Anglo-Indian Community of India University of Missouri, Columbia, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis. University Microfilms a XEROX Co. Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Anglo-Indian community was social-psychologically marginal to India. The findings of R.D. Wright's Thesis supported the proposition that Anglo-Indians were marginal to the dominant cultures of both India and England. Assimilation of the group into either social sphere was found to be slight or non-existent.

See also, Ballhatchet, K. (1980) Race, Sex and Class under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905 London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. Official witnesses asserted that Eurasians (Anglo-Indians) were not respected." (p.99) See Chapter 4 "On the Margins of Social Distance."

(2) D'Souza, A. A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.297); see also, Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW 9 NEW SERIES Vol.35 pp.71-96 (p.71); see also, De Montmorency,G. (1939) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: An Indian Problem' UNITED EMPIRE Vol.xxx p.lxix

(3) Aguiar, B.(1990) 'In God's Name' THE TABLET November 17 (p. 1468)

(4) Profile No. 160

(5) Profile No. 505

(6) Profile Nos. 56, 475-487

(7) Profile No. 173; see also, Craig, H.I. (1990) Under the Old School Topee Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) (p.139); see also, Eapen, K.V. (1979) A Study on the Contribution of the Church Mission Society to the Progress and Development of Education in Kerala Ph.D. Thesis in Education University of Kerala (p.50)

(8) Profile No. 505

(9) Profile No. 179

(10) Profile No. 585

(11) Profile No. 240

(12) Profile No. 242

(13) Profile Nos. 97, 99, 100, 101, 103, 238-246 and 505

(14) Profile No. 583

(15) Profile No. 101

(16) Profile No. 159

(17) Profile No. 98

(18) Profile Nos. 451-474

(19) Profile No. 238

(20) Profile Nos. 75-88

(21) Profile No. 46

(22) Profile No. 159

(23) Profile No. 157

(24) Profile No. 163; see also, Craig, H.I. (1990) op. cit., (p.17); see also, Dover, C. (1937) Half-Caste London: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd. (p.113); see also, Eapen, K.V. (1979) op. cit., (p.50); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indians schools in India Unpublished M.A. Thesis University of London Institute of Education (p.104)

(25) Profile No. 96

(26) Profile No. 15

(27) The interview raised questions of decision-making in ordinary life and encouraged a discussion about

responsibility and posed dilemmas. This invariably complicated their thinking about the mysteries and miseries of the world. It offered the students an opportunity to show intellectual confidence about their own spiritual direction. The majority of students used verbal answers. Some of the younger students drew pictures to illustrate their answers. Eleven students wrote down their answers.

The Student's Group Interview
ASPECTS OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND MODERN SOCIETY

Researcher:

> The following questions do not require written answers. Let's just talk to one another. If, you think you would prefer to write down your answer, or illustrate your feelings, then please feel free to do so.
>
> (1) What are your beliefs?
> (2) What are your feelings about religion?
> (3) Give me some reasons for your beliefs.
> (4) I will give you a single word, and I would like you to explain this word in any way you feel like. The word is "God".
> (5) What are the things in your life that worry you?
> (6) What are the things in your life that excite you?
> (7) If, you were offered an opportunity by your teachers to change the way you are being taught religion, what would be the first thing you would do?
> (8) If you could change some aspect of life in India, what would you like to see changed and why?

See, Harris, M. (1989) 'Teaching the Null Curriculum: The Holocaust' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 11 No. 3 Summer (pp.136-8); see also, Richardson, R. (1988) 'Spiritual Direction and Political Endeavour: Some Messages for Religious Education' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 10 No. 3 Summer (pp.128-134); see also, Strom, S. and Parsons, W. (1982) Facing History and Ourselves: Holocaust and Human Behaviour Watertown, Massachusetts: International Publications; see also, Webster, D. (1990) 'School Worship' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 12 No. 3 Summer pp.151-159

(28) Profile No. 247

(29) Profile Nos. 318-339

(30) Profile No. 374

(31) Profile No. 248

(32) Profile No. 249

(33) Profile No. 246

(34) Profile NO. 249

(35) Profile No. 247

(36) Profile Nos. 75-88 and 392-432; see also, Hilliard, F.H. (1970) 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools' IN: J.R. Hinnells (ed.) Comparative Religion in Education London: Oriel Press (p.97); see also, Holm, J.L. (1975) Teaching religion in school: A practical approach Oxford: Oxford University Press (p.6); see also, Hornsby-Smith, M. (1978) Catholic Education: The Unobtrusive Partner London: Sheed and Ward (p.25); see also, Pring, R. (1987) Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts and Content Third Impression London: Hodder and Stoughton (p.93); see also, Trevett, C. (1989) 'Patriarchal Structures and Religious Education' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 12 No. 1 Autumn

(37) Profile No. 89; see also, Richardson, R. and Chapman, J. (1973) Images of Life: Problems of Religious Belief and Human Relations in Schools The Bloxham Project Research Unit Oxford: SCM (p.19); see also, Richardson, R. (1988) 'Spiritual Direction and Political Endeavour: Some Messages for Religious Education' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol.10 No.3 Summer pp.128-134; see also, Robertson, C.G. (1984) 'The Place of Religion in Education' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 6 No. 2 Spring pp.55-7 see also, Webster, D. (1990) op. cit., pp. 151-159 (p.153)

(38) Profile No. 55

(39) Profile Nos. 510-529; Arthur, C. (1989) 'Dancing Class: An Introduction to the Educational Potential of the Shiva Nataraja Image' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 11, No. 2 Spring pp.103-9; see also, Coomaraswamy, A. (1976) The Dance of Shiva: Fourteen Indian Essays New Delhi: OUP (p.78); see also, Cox, O.C. (1948) Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics Seventh Printing New York: Monthly Review Press (p.318); see also, Mitter, P. (1977) Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art Oxford: Oxford University Press (p.105); see also, Thirtha, N.V. (1964) National Integration Jullunder (India): Jullunder University Publishers (p.33); see also, Vaikuntham, Y. (1982) Educational Social Change in South India: Andhra 1880-1920 Madras: New Era Publications (p.251)

(40) Profile No. 162; see also, Kung, H. (1991) Global Responsibility: In Search of a New World Ethic Translation J. Bowden London: SCM Press

(41) Profile No. 585; see also, Green, B. (1990) 'Church

schools in a pagan culture' THE TABLET October 6 pp.1270-1 (p.1270)

(42) Warwick, D. (1988) The Modular Curriculum Oxford: Basil Blackwell. This book is a Do-it-Yourself guide on the modular curriculum. Warwick argues that modules relate neither to choice nor sequence but rather to the

> ... inter-relationship of the individual modules which takes precedence. In the completion of a jigsaw puzzle, for example, there can be no debate over the shape or the look of the finished product, because this is dictated entirely by the picture or pattern that one is attempting to reconstruct. (p.4)

The book is an ideal starting point for teachers who are considering introducing modules into religious education. Of particular interest to Anglo-Indian schools is Chapter 9 entitled "Records of Progress" (p.178).

If, the theory-practice model (c.f. discussion below Ch. 9 p.331) is implemented in an Anglo-Indian school a Record of Progress within the curricular area of Religious Education would monitor progress of the student through a set programme of work. The record would also indicate future steps that need to be taken.

The record would include essay grades, contribution to classroom discussion, practical skills and would be readily available to all those involved in the decision-making process: pupils and their teachers. This would enable students to trace their own development in a curriculum which encouraged shared religious experiences.

The close and positive monitoring places a good deal of evidence into the hands of those planning to implement the theory-practice model. There will be evidence about popular and unpopular modules, performance by students and what students considered were good modules. Functional record keeping is essential in order to preserve the autonomy of individual choice in selecting a module.

CHAPTER 9

EDUCATIONAL THEORY-PRACTICE IN THE SOCIO-PRACTICAL FIELD OF ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to propose a theory-practice model which is designed to eliminate the educational disadvantage among Anglo-Indians in their own schools that has been demonstrated in earlier chapters of this thesis. The model is not a set of materials which involves an announcement or a deadline date. It is an innovation which can be further developed and modified during use. The model should change the "life-world" (1) of Anglo-Indians in their own schools. The theory-practice model:

- turns reflexively on the culture of the Anglo-Indian classroom; (2)
- integrates empirical data (Chs. 6-8) and historical evidence (Chs. 2-4);
- with theoretical explanations from:
  psychology, (3)
  the sociology of education, (4, 5, 6, 7, 8)
  educational theory, (9)
  technology, (10)
  and philosophy; (11)

to remove disadvantage.

The argument is that the theory-practice model can be implemented as a process of professional development and growth. It is personal and affects the teacher in the classroom who finally makes change in practice and

thinking. It is social because effective change only occurs in a socialization process, that is the socio-practical field of the classroom.

The structure of the chapter is:

(i) A socio-practical field: The classroom in an Anglo-Indian school

(ii) Educative play is doing and knowing: The Assimilation - Accommodation programme to learning Indian languages

(iii) The theory-practice model and its derivation

(iv) Change and adaptation: Ethical pluralism;

(v) Collaborative change: Classroom teachers as facilitators

(vi) Conclusions.

The next section describes the meaning of a socio-practical field and relates this field to the classroom area in an Anglo-Indian school.

2. A socio-practical field: The classroom in an Anglo-Indian school

The main demarcation principle for a socio-practical field is,

> ... when the goal of an enquiry embodies as its practical purpose the formulation of and engagement in practices intended to affect directly the lives of other human beings, the area under consideration becomes a socio-practical field in respect of that enquiry. (12)

The formulation of a theory-practice which could possibly improve the scholastic learning experience of Anglo-Indians could only take place in one area, that is, the classroom.

Therefore, the classroom became the socio-practical field.

The researcher saw a dual role for herself. First, as a social scientist, (13) the researcher identified and analyzed the historical evidence (c.f. discussion above Chs. 2-4 pp.46-163) and empirical data (c.f. discussion above Chs.6-8 pp.203-316). The cultural structure (14) of the classroom shaped a behaviour pattern for Anglo-Indians. As it was in the area of the classroom that learning opportunities for Anglo-Indians had decreased, it was necessary to understand how Anglo-Indians fail to learn in their classrooms.

Second, since there was a need to go further than describing why and how Anglo-Indians failed to learn, the researcher had to change to an interactionist's role (15) to provide a prescription to eliminate the disadvantage she perceived. The researcher had to provide a framework for action in order to eliminate disadvantage and increase learning opportunities for Anglo-Indians in the area of the classroom.

The next section draws together the theories of play in order to support the practice in the socio-practical field of Anglo-Indian schools.

3. Educative play is doing and knowing: The Assimilation - Accommodation programme for learning Indian languages

The play methods of Dewey, Froebel, Montessori and Herbart was first introduced in 1657 by Comenius in his book "The School of Infancy". (16) Comenius considered the play method to be most efficacious in teaching young children. The theory-practice model for Anglo-Indian schools was based on these educational theorists who described creative and practical activities as influencing cognitive processes

and aspects of personality.

The connection between the activity influencing cognitive processes determines the lesson content. The creative and practical lesson enables an Anglo-Indian to assimilate the classroom schemes and fit into the reality of life in Indian society. (17) This accommodation and adaptation to learning Indian languages and understanding Indian religions will improve the classroom learning environment for Anglo-Indians.

This inner connection or developing method in educative play is not trivial, but of deep significance, because students speak during an activity or educative play, and play and speech constitute the core elements in which Anglo-Indian children will reach a greater and more thorough knowledge and insight into language learning. Anglo-Indians should be encouraged to understand Indian culture, if, in the teaching, the words are connected with

> ... real ideas of the things and objects designated ... and a system of sounds and words, would become a real living organism. (18)

In drawing pedagogic conclusions from these theories of play, one fundamental rule was observed. The sub-population for whom the model was created was Anglo-Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools in India. These theories by Dewey, Froebel, Montessori, Herbart and Piaget had an impact on the creation of the theory-practice model and a brief account of their theories is given in the following section.

3.1. Dewey's creative activities

Dewey's educative play was divided into four sections, and linked to intellectual content. The activities, work,

materials, methods and tools could all be employed while a student was using an Indian language and understanding Indian culture during a creative and practical activity.

(i) ACTIVITIES:

Gardening, cooking, singing, acting, reading, writing, weaving, painting, printing, bookbinding, puppet-making and the list could be expanded to include the skills of teachers.

(ii) WORK:

Manual skills and technical efficiency

(iii) MATERIALS:

Paper, cardboard, wood, cloth, yarns, clay, sand, metals, leather.

(iv) METHOD:

Folding, cutting measuring, moulding, pattern-making, heating, cooling.

(v) TOOLS:

Brushes, pencils, paper, hammer, saw, file, scissors, utensils, costumes.

Discovering an Indian language or learning about non Anglo-Indian culture while involved in a group creative activity would promote a favoured learning environment. Favoured learning, where the storing away of words and sentences is completed, when thought is aroused, is relevant to the theory-practice model. The model advocates "purposeful handling" (19) of creative and practical materials. This enables the Response (R) to be a discovery of an Indian language and Indian culture.

The response to learning an Indian language or understanding Indian cultures rests in holding a completed object in one's hand, or looking at drawings or paintings. It could also be found while listening to a drama improvisation with easily available props, costumes and sound effects. Forget pitch, vibrato and harmony and let

the music be a creative lesson in discovering sound effects to match the words. Learning an Indian language or understanding India's religions would be incidental to the creative or practical activity.

It would also mean that a child would get an opportunity to gain in self-confidence while speaking an Indian language. The lesson would not be a language lesson. The Indian cultural experience of language and religion would be

- the unfolding of a story through mime or drama;
- the creation of sound effects to match words;
- the expressiveness of a piece of art or craft;
- the excitement of sounds and textures.

All this would be a favoured learning environment. The audience is the peer group. The performance area is the classroom.

Large halls should be avoided. They can be intimidating because they are linked with serious occasions like assemblies, prize-giving, Founder's Days, speech-making or whole-school

> ... scolding days, when everyone but the teachers know the truth. (20)

Art work should be displayed prominently. Classrooms, corridors and entrance foyers to the schools should support the students' talent. Most Anglo-Indian schools have showcases of polished sport's trophies and group photographs of students dressed

> ... to meet the inspector in our best uniforms. (21).

The schools rarely had exhibits of drama, dance, music, art, craft, design and technology. There were no photographs of children working on a community project, or on a work experience. The schools should support the doing

and knowing activities of the students with displaying the work more prominently around the school.

The next section describes Froebel's gifts for educative play. His gifts also possessed an inner connection between the student's mind and the objects which he/she creates or studies.

3.2. Froebel's educative gifts

Froebel created three educative "gifts" for the kindergarten. They are:
(1) The soft ball (a single effect caused by a single power);
(2) The sphere (which represents every isolated simple unity);
(3) The cube and cylinder (which represents each continually developing manifold body).

Froebel's "gifts" can be introduced to Anglo-Indian children in the kindergarten. The "gifts" can be used to aid Indian language acquisition at an early age. The "gifts" are functional toys which can and should be used to create imaginative play areas for Anglo-Indian children. They can be large enough for young children to create make-believe homes, jungles or places in outer space. They can be tiny, so that they can fit snugly into a child's hand.

The successful usage of these "gifts", which indeed they are, depends on the imagination of the teacher and his/her skills to encourage creative expression in language and design. While playing with Froebel's "gifts" the children should be encouraged to communicate in an Indian language. The kindergarten is the important class in an Anglo-Indian school where bilingualism should be introduced to Anglo-Indians.

> Childhood as the most important stage of the total development of man and humanity, (22)

offered the earliest stage for introducing the change in how Anglo-Indian schools introduce and teach Indian languages.

In the kindergartens in Anglo-Indian schools, these gifts were lying on shelves. They were usually arranged neatly and were painted in bright colours. The sizes can be changed and this would alter a child's perspective of Froebel's "gifts". Children are inquisitive and imaginative and the "gifts" could be constructively used to adopt the theory-practice model. Introducing English and an Indian language simultaneously to these children using the "gifts" would introduce bilingual skills to Anglo-Indians at the most formative stage of their education.

The next section describes the spontaneous learning which occurred in Montessori's classroom during spontaneous play.

3.3. Montessori: Spontaneity in the classroom

Montessori's spontaneous activity in education in her Advanced Method can be applied to the education of children from seven to eleven years. The activity materials changed children quite remarkably, because as Montessori stated,

> ... some originally stupid, become sharp and penetrating. (23)

Montessori's audio-motor imagery could help to reinforce the grapho-motor. This would facilitate the retention of the forms of the letters or shapes of the alphabet in various Indian languages, by learning to fit the insets into the spaces provided. (24)

During the field study, the research visited kindergartens in Anglo-Indian schools. These kindergartens were equipped with Montessori's letters of the alphabet, numbers and shapes in English. In order to introduce bilingualism in the kindergarten, the alphabet and numbers of the Indian language would have to be included in the kindergarten.

Bilingualism can be introduced, because phonetic sounds can be taught at the same time as the tracing of the forms. The sound precedes the written symbol. (25) Practising the spoken word and reconstructing the word with sandpaper letters is an activity advocated in the learning process.

3.4. Herbart: The play system to present new learning

Teaching an Indian language during playtime to young Anglo-Indians is trying out a new path to educate them in bilingual skills. Herbart suggested that one should try new paths in order to teach young people. He also advocated a "play system" (26) when there was a danger of arousing fear by the presentation of the new in teaching because of the paralysing effect upon the will of the student.

Children will become bored and dejected. They become slow and indolent, and this covers their fears about failure. Herbart suggested that during the early years introducing new ideas through play can be beneficial, because the child is doing and knowing while playing.

The next section discusses relevant aspects of Piaget's theory. Piaget investigated thought and understanding in children. During classroom observations and the interviews, the Anglo-Indian child's behaviour changed. They became self-conscious, retreated into a corner, laughed with embarrassment, disrupted the class, acted

clownish or sought attention. (Ch.7)

Anglo-Indians needed a stimulus (S) in the classroom in order to respond (R) to learning an Indian language. Piaget's theory of Stimulus (S) and Response (R) was studied by the researcher. His theory provided the psychological basis for the theory-practice model.

3.5. Piaget's theory: Interacting with, rather than reacting to, an environment

The Piagetian process of assimilation and accommodation, when true intellectual development begins, dominated the theory-practice model. (27) During the field study, Anglo-Indians were observed as interacting with the classroom environment on just three occasions. These three classrooms were creative and practical learning environments. They were a nature-study ramble for seven year olds, a combined Arts and Craft, Drama and Music class for a mixed group of students and a self-defence class for fifteen year old students. (28)

During the field study an "accidental" (four teachers were absent, and their classes were combined to form one large interacting classroom) combined arts class (c.f. Ch. 7 pp.257-259) was observed. The three teachers were facilitators, and the class was a successful bilingual learning environment.

During the nature-study ramble students were encouraged to relate their "adventures" during their ramble. The children spoke in Indian languages and exchanged anecdotes which were funny and serious. The self-defence class was full of well-timed movements, the students were relaxed, the radio was switched on and they improved their skills in language and self-defence. Once again the commands and

answers were given in Indian languages.

The stimulus the Anglo-Indians received in these three learning environments created the necessary associationism in a unilateral manner: STIMULUS-->RESPONSE. The researcher describes this as an "educational equation". The next section discusses this "educational equation".

3.5.1. An "educational equation" creates a foundation for change in the socio-practical field of an Anglo-Indian classroom.

The Anglo-Indian child's assimilation of the stimulus (creative and practical activity) introduced an element of reciprocity. The "educational equation" of Piaget's theory is adapted to the Anglo-Indian child's favoured learning environment which occurred in just three classroom observations.

The equation is simple:
STIMULUS-->RESPONSE = ASSIMILATION
CREATED A RECIPROCAL
RESPONSE-->STIMULUS = ACCOMMODATION

The explanation is also simple. The Anglo-Indian child was stimulated to use an Indian language in just three classroom observations. The response to the stimulus of the favoured learning environment created motivated and excited young students who were discovering skills.

The students' reciprocity was presupposed by the point of view of assimilation. The accommodation which the Anglo-Indian child made in his/her Response (R) to the Stimulus (S) laid the foundation for a favoured learning experience in just three classroom observations. In Rogers humanistic approach, (29) based on a systematic

psychological foundation, the teachers were facilitators.

During the classroom observation, the successful learning environments were classes in which students were offered opportunities to select areas in the curriculum in which they showed interest and expertise. The combined arts class, the self-defence class and the nature study ramble were positive learning environments.

3.5.2. Rousseau: The right environment and guidance will help children to learn

Rousseau (30) concentrated the student's attention on those matters in which he/she may be expected to show interest and knowledge. In creating the theory-practice model, the researcher turned reflexively on the classrooms which were favoured learning environments for Anglo-Indians. The enduring lesson is that the child does need the right environment and does need guidance in order to learn. During the successful classroom observations, Anglo-Indian children enjoyed practical activities and displayed skills in Indian languages and an understanding of Indian culture.

3.5.3. Pestalozzi: Practical skill and theoretical knowledge based on observation

The researcher observed classroom teaching. Children successfully discovered practical skills and found theoretical knowledge in just three favoured learning environments. In these three classes, small group learning was encouraged, in which the tone was not that of learners, but in which children

> ... wished, tried, persevered, succeeded and they laughed. (31)

The students moved in small groups during the nature study ramble. They worked in small interest groups during the combined arts class. They encouraged, practised and critically appraised one another in small groups during the self-defence class. Pestalozzi encouraged small group learning. These classes were large, but the students created small groups of cooperative learning.

The next section describes the theory-practice model. Herbart's suggestive ideas gave the researcher encouragement to create the theory-practice model. His ideas are to be found in his book "The Application of Psychology to Education". (32) He encouraged educationists to try new paths. The theory-practice model is an innovation in Anglo-Indian classrooms.

The model advocates a **doing and knowing philosophy in education**. This also includes the rare sense and the advice of the experienced theorists and the respondents who took part in the field study. Theory's counterpart is commonsense and this was evident during the field study by the perceptive remarks and insight of the respondents.

The respondents possessed a pre-theoretical knowledge or "species competence" about the problems, and their know-how must not be overlooked. (33) The data was collected in Anglo-Indian homes, classrooms, dormitories, dining-rooms, teachers' living-quarters in residential schools, Principals' homes, lecture halls in two Indian Universities and the premises of Anglo-Indian Associations.

During the field study, three classroom observations (a combined arts class, a self-defence class and a nature study ramble) concluded that Anglo-Indian students were **STIMULATED (S)** during creative and practical activities. These students **RESPONDED (R)** positively, and communicated with non Anglo-Indian students in Indian languages.

Anglo-Indians were **DOING AND KNOWING** activities in which they possessed skills.

They were relaxed, laughed, chatted animatedly in Indian languages without being self-conscious, and cooperated with enthusiasm during the activities within the peer group. The **Stimulus (S) and Response (R)** is the **psychological** catalyst for introducing the theory-practice into the classroom.

During the field study, students were found to be knowledgeable and insightful about classroom processes. Teachers introducing the theory-practice into their classrooms would need to reflect on the substantial social changes of the last forty years since Indian independence. The model enables teachers to conduct their own Action Research and Case Studies (34) in the classroom. The model is structured on doing and knowing, and teaching is also concerned with action, doing things.

The theory-practice model makes an attempt to bridge the gorge which exists between theory and skilful teaching. The teacher can observe the characteristics of the Anglo-Indian students and conduct a case study. Case study observations take place over a period of time and teachers are in a position to develop informal relationships with Anglo-Indian students whom they observe. The students should be offered an opportunity to discuss their own study skills and comment on classroom processes.

The next section discusses the theory-practice model in more precise detail.

4. The Theory-Practice Model and its Derivation

(35)

REALITY - The impoverishment of the Anglo-Indian community in India. (See Profile Nos.46-52, 58, 65-68,100,102,109,125, 160, 164-169)

IDEAS - For changing reality: Lack of Indian languages and lack of appreciation of Indian religions and understanding of Indian culture.

SOURCES - Historical evidence (Chs.1-4)
Empirical data (Chs.6-8)

THEORY-PRACTICE

To improve the life-world of poverty and disadvantage through changing the learning experience in an Anglo-Indian classroom.

MODEL

Socio-Practical Field = Classroom Environment

STIMULUS (S)	RESPONSE (R)
DOING A CREATIVE AND PRACTICAL ACTIVITY IN FOUR FACULTIES	KNOWING AN INDIAN LANGUAGE, UNDERSTANDING INDIAN RELIGIONS THUS LEADING TO A BETTER APPRECIATION OF INDIAN CULTURE

TECHNIQUES

Dependant on implementation of prescription by teachers:

Action Research in the Classroom and Case Studies which would lead to refining the model.

ASSIMILATION - ACCOMMODATION

RESULT

Adaptation to Indian society will remove the present reality of poverty and disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community.

(Note: The Piagetian theory of ASSIMILATION -ACCOMMODATION for Anglo-Indian students in the areas of learning Indian languages and understanding Indian religions is based on the human-psychological level of the interaction of the organism (Anglo-Indian child) with his/her surrounding world (the Anglo-Indian student's classroom experience). The DOING AND KNOWING EDUCATIVE PLAY METHODS of Comenius, Dewey, Froebel, Herbart, Montessori, Pestallozi and Rousseau influence cognitive processes and aspects of personality). The model offers practitioners two different types of research, viz., Action Research and Case Studies. Each of these methodologies will be described briefly in the next section, in order to encourage practitioners to use them.

4.1. Techniques: Action Research and Case Studies

Action Research:

Since the theory-practice offered in this thesis is concerned with changing the Anglo-Indian classroom, the least problematic type of Action Research is the single teacher operating on his/her own with a class. The single teacher is able to translate the ideas of the theory-practice offered in this thesis into action in the classroom.

A more complicated, yet rewarding action research is collaborative, when a group of teachers in the schools cooperate and pool their ideas for implementing the theory-practice. The collaborative approach is the most effective, because it leads to more practice in research and problem-solving by teachers, administrators, students and members of the community. Each teacher should be encouraged to develop a style of their own while cooperating with the larger group. (36)

Case Studies:

At the very heart of the case studies approach is the method of observation. Teachers in the classroom become participant observers, because they are engaged in the activities in the classroom, and can select which activity to observe. On the other hand, the case study of a student can be conducted by another teacher/ administrator who is interested in the student's development. It is much easier to invite a colleague into the classroom, because some teachers are uneasy with non-participant observers.

The purpose of the participant observation and the non-participant observation is to

> ... probe deeply and to analyze intensively the student with a view to establish generalisations about the wider population to which that student belongs. (37)

The effectiveness of the theory-practice model offered in this chapter will only be realised in the context of classroom teaching. Action Research and Case Studies are two methods which make this possible and easily accessible to all practitioners (c.f. see discussion above Ch. 5 pp.169-170).

The next section argues the case for changing the religious curriculum away from its narrow focus on Christianity towards a religiously pluralistic base. In the theory-practice model understanding India's religions could lead to a better appreciation of Indian culture for Anglo-Indian students. The next section discusses ethical pluralism in the context of the theory-practice model.

5. Change and adaptation: Ethical pluralism and the theory-practice model in the socio-practical field of the Anglo-Indian school.

The theory-practice model will enable schools to introduce ethical pluralism into the religious curriculum of Anglo-Indian schools. In order to do this, this section discusses ethical pluralism in the context of philosophy, sociology and theology. It offers an approach to introduce life-themes and secular dialogue into the classroom.

In Anglo-Indian schools the curriculum foundation is that religion as a form of knowledge must necessarily have its place. Reducing religious understanding to social or psychological facts about religious believers becomes

indoctrination. However, cross-cultural understanding is possible in a pluralistic society like India and this could be provided for in Anglo-Indian schools because it is a

> ... mark of the secular society that it is religiously plural. (38)

The problem created by ethical pluralism is that in neither public and private morality can there be an agreed settlement of conflicts and disagreements; but the disagreeing parties can simply agree to differ. Tolerance is the enduring lesson of ethical pluralism and the Anglo-Indian schools with their culturally determined ethical diversity offer a microcosm of Indian society.

Ethical pluralism is the only programme worth devising which might be able to suit philosophers, sociologists, theologians or any other group of specialists. Ethical pluralism will enable them to foster certain intellectual excellence. This is found in the ability to determine whether

> ... the morality of one's group requires of one is what it should require of one; and if it does not, to determine what is morally required of one, in such a case. (39)

In other words, ethical pluralism will teach children how to cope with moral and spiritual issues in their lives. The introduction of life-themes remains a major new contribution to the method of teaching religion in a cross-cultural classroom environment. One is

> ... concerned to explore the religious experience innate within the ordinary experience of the child. (40)

The approach is made through assemblies, the arts, the stories from India's religions and topical and relevant events.

Secular dialogue emphasises the common problems which face the world - population, injustice, hunger and poverty. The

> discursive dialogue

occurs

> when examining the social and ethical dimensions of belief systems. (41)

These can be the basis of a cross-cultural theory-practice model for knowledge and meaning in a religious education policy. To deny Anglo-Indians and Indians a genuine religious dialogue deprives them both of a proper social context for understanding one another's life-world.

The empirical data offers a self-critical, reflective and reconstructive analysis and judgement not only by students and teachers in Anglo-Indian schools but by different groups of Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians (Ch.8). The focus is on the actual practices of Anglo-Indian schools and the empirical data helps to determine an educational theory-practice for a curriculum change in religious/moral education.

The reason for changing the curriculum in Christianity/ moral education to ethical pluralism is relevant because the present educational curriculum does not deliver either to Anglo-Indian or Indian students what they ought to have in terms of their growth and their needs. The cognitive objectives of an educational theory-practice in the socio-practical field of the classroom must provide a powerful argument in the curriculum planning of Anglo-Indian schools, if new knowledge is at stake.

The significance of the creative activity Indian language learning classroom and the central place of ethical pluralism in the religious education in Anglo-Indian schools must not be overlooked. Overlooking the significant cognitive development of the theory-practice model advocated in this chapter is simply to evade the central core of the issue. This is to enable Anglo-Indians to adapt to the reality of life in post-Independent India. To set a barrier to the innovation would limit the cognitive development of Anglo-Indian students.

The introduction of a theory and practice model which is consistent with each other can enable a society to derive incalculable advantages. The present Anglo-Indian school system is highly standardized and regimented, and the plan should be to introduce diversity into the religious education curriculum. (42) The school can increase its diversity by altering the controlling environment of the school to accommodate the creative activity language learning theory-practice. The change advocated challenges the professional at two levels:

(1) as a specialist teacher of a school subject;
(2) as an all-pervading authority within the classroom.

The theory-practice model emphasises a learning process which is child-centred, but this does not mean that learning Indian languages or understanding India's religions will prevent the educationists from preparing Anglo-Indians for professional careers and academia.

It is for this very purpose that the educational theory-practice has been designed. If the status of a subject is closely connected with the status of its examinable knowledge, then the emphasis placed on

structuring a new theory-practice in Anglo-Indian classrooms to enable Anglo-Indians to pass the Indian language examinations ensures its acceptance of the academic tradition. (43)

The next section discusses the collaboration needed in order to introduce the theory-practice model into the schools.

6. Collaborative change: Teachers as facilitators

If effective learning and teaching are identified as the central function of the Anglo-Indian school for **ALL** its students, then the theory-practice model must be part of a well-structured collaborative curriculum policy. The implementation by a collaborative group of teachers concerns learning, teaching, facilitating and evaluating a language policy and ethical pluralism in the context of curriculum development.

The theory-practice has been structured to maximise the significance of the historical and social situation. It attempts to define a dialectical model for theory-practice, for four reasons. First, as content, which is determined by current educational theories. Second, the model is based on substantial historical evidence of Anglo-Indian education. Third, the results of the extensive field study completed in India in 1990 offer evidence of a disadvantaged learning experience. Fourth, the personal experience of the researcher who was an Indian language casualty in an Anglo-Indian school during the fifties. (44)

Change is to take action, and although there might be a limited positive effect in the early stages it is

... ethically preferable to inaction. (45)

A seven-step strategy (46) to implement the change could be introduced by the Principal who will head the Policy Group for implementing the theory-practice model with a minimum of paperwork and educational jargon.

(1) Explain the change by demonstrating its purpose. Reassure participants that sufficient time will be allowed for its introduction.
(2) A timetable for implementation should be determined by the policy group.
(3) Proceed slowly; only introduce the different programmes gradually for the different age groups. It will be much easier to start the programme in the kindergarten and primary section of the school.
(4) Invite volunteers to prepare programme plans.
(5) Set the programme as a priority in the school, and allow the staff to list the contentious issues along with non-contentious issues.
(6) Set aside one day for In-Service training (INSET) for all staff, whether they are involved in the policy or not. The staff must be aware of the policy and its implementation. The school will be given a holiday, and the staff will have an opportunity to meet to discuss the programme.
(7) A day for evaluation should be held, during school hours, with students being asked their views on the completion of each programme.

The next section is the conclusion, which brings together the sections of the chapter and argues that the most important aspect of the theory-practice model is that it adds effectiveness to the task and relationship dimensions of the curriculum. The conclusion builds upon the integral relationship between the model and an effective learning environment for Anglo-Indians.

7. Conclusions

The chapter argued that the adoption of the theory-practice model in Anglo-Indian schools is a necessary condition for the growth and reform of Anglo-Indian schools. It described the theory-practice model which integrated the findings of the historical evidence in chapters one to four and the field study in chapters seven and eight. The model was based on the work of educationists and classroom observation.

The chapter supported the argument that the classroom-based curriculum development in the theory-practice model would encourage the processes of review, evaluation, accountability and appraisal in Anglo-Indian schools. The chapter further argued that the model systematically identified strategies to raise achievement levels for Anglo-Indian students. The model will be faced with passive resistance to innovation. There will be teachers who are disinclined or uncommitted to become involved in Action Research or Case Studies. If, this happens and Anglo-Indians continue to fail in his/her classroom, the teacher will have to consider the issue of offering unequal opportunities for learning to Anglo-Indians.

The chapter supported the argument that the model was flexible and could be further developed and modified by teachers doing Action Research or Case studies. Implementing the model would create new demands for teachers. In other words, would the model benefit the Anglo-Indian students, and can the model fit into an existing teaching programme?

The chapter offered teachers clear and practical ideas for implementing the model. The model can fit into an existing curriculum programme. It is not unrealistic

about time table lines. It does not require resource support. The theory-practice model is not politically motivated. It has been created to increase learning and achievement levels for Anglo-Indian students.

The Anglo-Indian schools are in the hands of Anglo-Indian Boards of Management, which have their roots in politics. The first issue of solidarity in the community is linked to the implementation of this theory-practice model. It is the interpretation of the thesis that the disadvantage has been identified and the model can increase achievement levels.

At this point the chapter is suggesting that the implementation depends on the Anglo-Indian associations planning and coordinating a social process which will involve large numbers of people. The three issues of ethnicity and size, Indian languages and ethical pluralism are important in the educational innovation demanded by the theory-practice model.

There are four benefits to be derived from adoption the model. The model expects

- to improve the education of Anglo-Indian pupils;
- to encourage individual teachers to plan Action Research and Case Studies in the socio-practical field of their own classrooms;
- to provide continuing development of the professional knowledge in the language and religious education curriculum;
- to clarify the Anglo-Indian school's philosophy, aims and objectives so as to better educate Anglo-Indians to take their place in Indian society.

The next chapter is the conclusion. It will pull the threads of this thesis together. The historical evidence (chapters 1-4), the data collected from the field study

(chapters 6-8) and the proposal for educational change through the adoption of the theory-practice model (chapter 9) will be analyzed.

CHAPTER 9

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) Habermas, J. (1986) 'Communication versus subject-centred reason' pp.294-326 in PDM:299 A. Brand, 'The Colonisation of the Life-world and the Disappearance of Politics: Arendt and Habermas' THESIS ELEVEN 13 1986 (pp.39-53) The "life-world" described by Habermas, J. in "Communication versus subject-centred reasons" offered the researcher an alternative viewpoint to the cultural world in which Anglo-Indians have lived after Indian Independence in 1947.

(2) Cunningham, C; Perry, G. and Walder, D. (1986) Culture: Production, Consumption and Status Unit 22 Culture and Art. An Arts Foundation Course. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press (p.5) Defining culture is difficult. But, one can attempt to define culture in terms of an activity central to this research. The broad definition of a "total network of human activities and value systems" (p.5) in Indian society is taken to mean understanding at least one Indian language and learning about India's religions in this research. This definition of culture is selective, but it does mean everything that makes up the life of the Anglo-Indian community in a life-world dominated by non Anglo-Indian cultures. Thus the word culture has been reformulated and offered in this research as a definition of what is missing in the present life-world of Anglo-Indians who are Indian citizens.

(3) Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. (1969) The Psychology of the Child Trans. from the French by H. Weaver. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.6); see also, Piaget, J. (1972) The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic Psychology Trans. by A. Rosin. London; Frederick Muller Ltd. (p.117); see also, Phillips, J.L. (1969) The Origins of Intellect: Piaget's Theory San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co. (pp.8-9); see also, Wolfe, M. (1972) 'Translator's Introduction' IN: J. Piaget. The Principles of Genetic Epistemology London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul. (p.6)

Piaget was a Swiss psychologist who never touted his theory as the basis of a new pedagogy. He did not construct a Theory of Teaching, but of intellectual development, and since most teaching has a similar concern there is overlap between the two. The lines which spurred the researcher to investigate Piaget's theory

concerned children who brought with them to their schools "certain necessary and irreducible conditions" which act as a "functional nucleus". (p.3) The first book the researcher read was Piaget's (1952) The Origins of Intelligence in Children Trans. by M. Cook, New York: International University Press. The Original French edition was published in 1936. The lines reflected my belief about Anglo-Indian children in their classrooms and their functional nucleus which was locked into the Anglo-Indian culture and needed to be altered in the classroom situation to accept the learning of Indian languages and to understand ethical pluralism.

(4) Dewey, J. (1916, 1944, 1966) Democracy and Education Toronto, Ont. Collier-Macmillan: First Free Press Paperback edition (1966) (p.198); see also, Dewey, J. (1938, 1969) Experience and Education New York: Collier Books (p.51). In Dewey's book (1966) one probably finds the most important presentation of the liberal theory of education, which to Dewey meant "an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which (one) was born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment". (p.20) See also, Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (1979) Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H refers to Dewey's process as the "integrative" function of education. (p.21)

(5) Froebel, F. (1893) The Education of Man Trans. from the German by W.N. Hailman. New York: D. Appleton and Company (p.217); see also, Froebel, F. (1900) The Pedagogics of the Kindergarten Trans. J. Jarvis London: Edward Arnold, in which Froebel describes "childhood as the most important stage of the total development of man and humanity". (p.95) For further information read, Rusk, R.R. and Scotland, J. (1979) Doctrines of the Great Educators 5th Edition. Basingstoke, U.K.: The Macmillan Press Ltd. (p.191); see also, Lee, V; Webberley, R; and Litt, L. (1976) Intelligence and Creativity The Open University Educational Studies: A Second Level Course Personality and Learning E201 Block 6 (p.93).

Froebel wrote "The Education of Man" which appeared in 1826. This work by Froebel admits one into his Philosophy and shows us the fundamental principles upon which he based the kindergarten (Garden of Children) system. His great words were inner connection, and Froebel stated that there must be an inner connection between the pupil's mind and the objects which he studies, and this shall determine what to study. Inner connection is in fact what the Germans call the Developing Method.

(6) Montessori, M. (1918) The Advanced Montessori Method: Scientific Pedagogy as applied to the Education of children from seven to eleven years Trans. from the

Italian by A. Livingston London; William Heinemann (p.219); see also, Holmes, H. (1915) 'Introduction' IN: M. Montessori The Montessori Method London: William Heinemann. The Montessori Method was published in 1909, only two years after the opening of the House of Childhood which was the "school within the tenement". It was adopted by Roman Catholic Schools.

The Nursery and Kindergarten classes in Anglo-Indian schools are based on the work of Montessori, and during the field study, the Nursery and Kindergartens in Anglo-Indian school followed a combination of Montessori and Froebel's methods. Montessori's work was concentrated on pre-school children, and she developed materials which emphasized sensorimotor activity, as did other activities of practical life which were included in her programmes for older children. She along with Froebel believed that through investigation and creative effort, education guides activity and does not repress it.

(7) Herbart, J.F. (1898) The Application of Psychology to the Science of Education Trans. and Edited by B.C. Mulliner with a preface by D.Beale. London: Swan Sonnenschein (pp.108-10). Herbart, J.F. born in 1776 was an intellectual pioneer of education. Rather like Socrates, he would suggest new paths for us to try. The great secret of this educationist was his suggestiveness. His writings are very relevant even in the twentieth century to any teacher-researcher who wants to explore new methods in his/her classroom. His persuasiveness offers a teacher-researcher a measure of self-confidence.

(8) Dewey, J. op cit., (1916, 1944, 1966) p.198

(9) Hirst, P.H. (1983) 'Educational Theory' IN: P.H. Hirst (ed.) Educational Theory and its Foundation Disciplines London: Routledge & Kegan Paul p. 3; see also, Peters, R.S. (1983) 'Philosophy of Education' IN: P.H. Hirst (ed.) Educational Theory and its Foundation Disciplines London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; see also, Moore, T.W. (1974) Educational Theory: An Introduction London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.7)

Hirst, P. is Professor of Education, University of Cambridge and has published extensively in Philosophy of Education and Curriculum Theory and for many years worked closely with Peters, R.S. He advocates an educational theory which is related as closely as possible to actual practice.

(10) Checkland, P. (1981) Systems Thinking, Systems Practice Chichester, U.K.: John Wiley & Sons (pp.152-3) Checkland, P. (1981) describes the application of a cycle of interaction between theory and practice and the relationships between activities and results in a

developing subject and the examples in the book offered the researcher an opportunity to examine and use the technique.

(11) Hirst, P.H. (1974) Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical Papers International Library of the Philosophy of Education General Editor R.S. Peters. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.2)

(12) De Castell, S. and Freeman, H. (1978) 'Education as a Socio-Practical Field: The Theory-Practice question reformulated' JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION Vol.12 1978 pp.13-28 (p.17). This article influenced the researcher to examine the Anglo-Indian classroom from a socio-practical viewpoint. It aided the researcher to develop a new line of theory-practice in order to offer practitioners who are normally so immersed in the daily classroom routine cannot without assistance construct a theory-practice to deal with a problem in their classroom.

(13) Burrell, G. and Morgan, G. (1980) Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis London: Heinemann.

(14) Ribbins, P., Best, R., Jarvis, C. and Oddy, D. (1981) 'Meanings and Contexts: The Problem of Interpretation in the Study of a School' IN: Ribbins, P. and Thomas, H. Research in Educational Management and Administration Coombe Lodge: BEMAS; see also, Shipman, M. (1968) The Sociology of the School London: Longman

(15) Ball, S. (1981) Beeechside Comprehensive Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; see also, Hammersley, M. (ed.) (1983) The Ethnography of Schooling Driffield: Nafferton; see also, Hargreaves, D. (1967) Social Relations in a Secondary School London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; see also, Turner, G. (1983) The Social World of the Comprehensive School London: Croom Helm; see also, Woods, P. (1979) Sociology and the School: An Interactionist Viewpoint London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

(16) Comenius, J.A. (1956) 'Learning by Doing: How Children Ought to be Accustomed to an Active Life and Perpetual Employment' Chapter VII IN: J.A. Comenius The School of Infancy Edited with an Introduction by E.M. Eller The University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill (p.92)
Comenius wrote The School of Infancy in Czech for the mothers of his own nation. He wrote the book also in German and probably Polish. It was later published in Latin. Comenius, J.A. published Opera Didactica Omnia in 1657. This was a collection of his writings on education. His educational reforms, including new, more exciting teaching methods, and the learning of Latin to

facilitate the study of European culture was revolutionary. His works were translated into sixteen languages.

(17) Profile No. 100

(18) Froebel, F. (1893) op. cit., (p.217)

(19) Dewey, J. (1916, 1944, 1966) op. cit., (p.198)

(20) Profile Nos. 318-339

(21) Profile Nos. 391.

(22) Rusk, R. and Scotland, J. (1979) op. cit., (p.191)

(23) Montessori, M. (1918) op. cit., (p.219)

(24) Montessori, M. (1918) op. cit., PART III

(25) Montessori, M. (1918) op. cit., PART III

(26) Herbart, J.F. (1898) op. cit., (pp.108-110)

(27) Piaget, J. and Inhelder, B. (1969) op. cit., (p.6); see also, Piaget, J. (1972) op. cit., (p.117)

(28) The Nature Ramble Class, Self-Defence Class and the Combined Arts Class were observed during the field study. These classroom observations were discussed in Ch.7

(29) Rogers, C.R. (1969) Freedom to Learn Columbus, Ohio: Merrill (p.104). Rogers, C. provided a systematic psychological foundation for what is known as Humanistic Education.

(30) Rousseau, J. (1911) Emile Trans. B. Foxley. London: Everyman; see also, Rusk, R.R. and Scotland, J. (1979) op.cit., (p.123); see also, Boyd, W. (1970) Emile for Today: The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau Selected, Translated and Interpreted by W. Boyd. London: Heinemann (p.62). Rousseau's pedagogical intention was to concentrate the student's attention on those matters in which he may be expected to show interest and knowledge. Rousseau advocated learning by doing. (p.144)

(31) Pestalozzi, J.H. (1894, 1938) How Gertrude Teaches Her Children: An Attempt to help mothers to teach their own children and an account of the Method Trans. by L.E. Holland and F.C. Turner. Edited with Introduction and Notes by E. Cooke. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Pestalozzi, J.H. published How Gertrude Teaches Her Children in October 1801. The education he proposed was divided into practical skill and theoretical knowledge based on observation.

(32) Herbart, J. F. (1898) op. cit., (pp.108-110)

(33) Lloyd, D.I. (1976) 'Theory and Practice' PROCEEDINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN Editor R.S. Peters Vol. X pp.98-113 (p.104); see also, McCarthy, T. (1982) 'Rationality and Relativism' IN: J.B.Thompson and D.Held (eds.) Habermas - Critical Debates London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. (p.60)

(34) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) Research Methods in Education Second Edition (p.218)

(35) Ideas for creating the diagram were found in the following books. Bingham, J.E. and Davies, G.W.P. (1972) A Handbook of Systems Analysis London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. pp.52-9; Checkland, P. (1981) op. cit., (p.8); Have, V.C. (1967) Systems Analysis: A Diagnostic Approach New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc. (p.29); Kramer, N.J. and De Smit, J. (1977) Systems Thinking: Concepts and Notions Trans. of the Dutch H.E.Stenfert Kroese Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Social Sciences Division (p.25); Kronsjo, L. (1987) Algorithms: Their Complexity and Efficiency Second Edition Chichester: John Wiley & Sons. (pp.1-2); Wheatley, D.M. and Unwin, A.W. (1972) The Algorithm Writer's Guide London: Longman Group (p.1)

In order to arrive at the theory-practice model, the researcher investigated techniques used by systems analysts. There was a tendency to regard flowcharting as a technique unique to data processing. The researcher made several efforts in creating the model, always keeping in mind the teacher's advice to "keep it simple and free from jargon". (Profile Nos.153, 238-246, 475-487) To illustrate the model or proposed system it was decided to explain each stage. The area of activity was the classroom and once the objectives had been clearly identified, the information was included in the model. The researcher wanted to complete the model on a single page and this meant reducing the actual amount of drawing to be done.

Flowcharting is a most useful technique for the systems analyst and is very widely used. At first, the researcher drew a number of models using the symbols that follow the International Standards Organisation (I.S.O.) recommendation (ref.R.1028) These were discarded, as the model was extending over two pages. The researcher discarded the symbols, and achieved the result on a single page. This also helped to ensure that a neat and presentable result was produced.

(36) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op cit., (p.212). The theory-practice offered in this thesis will eventually rely on the observation and behaviourial data collected by teacher-researchers in their classrooms in Anglo-Indian schools who will adopt the theory-practice

model. In Action Research it is necessary to review progress with colleagues, and in this one respect it is superior to subjective, impressionistic methods.

If, a quasi-experiment is conducted, see, Campbell, D.T. and Stanley, J.C., (1963) 'Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research on teaching' IN: N.L. Gage (ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching Chicago: Rand McNally and Pilliner, A. (1973) Experiment in Education Research E341 Block 5 Bletchley: The Open University Press. For more information about Action Research see, Nixon, J. (ed.) A Teacher's Guide to Action Research London: Grant McIntyre. For a detailed description of an Integrated Studies Project that combines the creative activities with language learning see, Shipman, M.D. (1974) Inside a Curriculum Project London: Methuen.

(37) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) op. cit., (pp.120-21)
At the very heart of a Case Study lies a method of observation. For a Case Study of infants, unfettered by preplanned questionnaires and interview schedules see, King, R. (1978) All Things Bright and Beautiful? Chichester; John Wiley & Sons. The Case Study allows the teacher-researcher in his/her classroom to learn the ways in which children learn, and the means by which a school achieves goals. The Case Study will be an important aspect of the evaluation process after the theory-practice is adopted in an Anglo-Indian classroom. For an unstructured, ethnographic account of a Headteacher in a natural environment see, Wolcott, H.F. (1973) The Man in the Principal's Office New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

(38) Hirst, P. (1974) op. cit., (p.3).

(39) Baier, K. (1971) 'Ethical Pluralism and Moral Education' IN: C.M.Beck; B.S. Crittenden and E.V. Sullivan Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches University of Toronto: Newman Press (p.100) Baier, K. (1971) believes that tolerance can work in both areas of private and public morality in ethical pluralism, and argues for the case that all contentious moral matters be relegated to a private morality. Baier asks for general tolerance in such matters. Ethical pluralism offers a new approach to Anglo-Indian students and Indian students in Anglo-Indian schools a genuine religious education which would not deprive both of a proper social context in which can be realised their innate endowment for understanding both the world and their lives within it.

See also, Brent, A. (1983) Philosophy and Educational Foundations London: George Allen & Unwin. (p.353); see also, Walking, P.H. (1980) in his article 'The idea of a multi-cultural curriculum' JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY OF

EDUCATION Vol. 14, No. 2 pp.87-96 stressed that no reality distortion took place in a multi-cultural curriculum. During the field study, there was evidence of students desiring to come to terms with India's secular society via a knowledge of India's religions, thus eliminating their experience of religious educational apartheid.

See also, Kohlberg, L. (1980) 'Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral Education' IN: B. Munsey Moral Development, Moral Education and Kohlberg: Basic issues in Philosophy, Psychology, Religion and Education Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press. (p.37) Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental Theory of Moralization is common in moral theories and can also be found in the writings of the following Philosophers: (1) Baldwin, J.M. (1906) Social and ethical interpretations in mental development New York: Macmillan & Co. (2) Dewey, J. (1909, 1959) Moral Principles in Education New York: Philosophical Library. (3) Mead, G.H. (1934) Mind, self and society from the standpoint of a Social Behaviourist C.W. Morris (ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press (4) Piaget, J. (1932, 1962) The Moral Judgment of the Child New York: Collier Books

(40) Hirst, P. (1974) Moral Education in a Secular Society London: University of London Press (p.3); see also, Hull, J. (1984) Studies in Religion and Education London: The Falmer Press. (p.140); see also, Religious Education in Norfolk Schools (1977) The Agreed Syllabus Norfolk Education Committee (p.28); see also, Report of the Commission on Religious Education in Schools (1970) The Durham Report "The Fourth R" London: National Society SPCK (pp.102-3).

Since the basis of education of children is human dialogue and the mark of a secular society is religiously plural, an effort should be made in Anglo-Indian schools to explore religious experience via a moral education programme which takes as its starting pointing the consensus of students, who all agreed that their religious/moral education laid the foundations for an element of separatism, or as a group of M.A. students in the University of Bombay stated:

> We were first introduced to communalism in school, with the separation of non-Christians and Christians. Was this at all necessary? Why did we suffer from segregation? Who makes these rules? They must be changed. (See Profile Nos. 75-88)

Two books which might be useful in a classroom to promote a dialogue are: (1) Dargue, W. (1985) Heroes of Faiths Oxford: Oxford University Press. This book has chapters on the Buddhists, the Chinese, Hindus, Jews, Muslims,

Sikhs and Christians. (2) Bastide, D. (1987) Religious Education 5-12 Barcomber, East Sussex: The Falmer Press.

Bastide's book has a bibliography of books using the life-theme method. Bastide also offers a useful guide for teachers in World Religions.

(41) Cole, W.O. (1978) 'Dialogue and Religious Education' IN: W.O.Cole (ed.) World Faiths in Education London: George Allen & Unwin (p.96). For a description of discursive dialogue see, Sharp, E.(1974) 'The Goals of Inter-Religious Dialogue' IN: J.Hick (ed.) Truth and Dialogue London: Sheldon Press

(42) Skinner, B.F.(1978) The Technology of Teaching Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall (p.236). Skinner's highly original experiments in animal learning, notably with pigeons, and his invention of the teaching machine and development of programmed learning are viewed as revolutionary innovations for educational method. His psychology which views human behaviour in terms of physiological responses to the environment favours the controlled, scientific study of response as the most direct avenue to elucidating man's nature.

(43) In an Anglo-Indian school the teacher experiences each working situation as various conflicting cultures and subcultures in Indian society. See, Goodson, I.(1988) 'Beyond the subject monolith: Subject traditions and sub-cultures' IN: A. Westoby Culture and power in educational organizations Milton Keynes: Open University Press (pp.184-186). Goodson, argues that teachers reproduce social differences in a mutual competition of subject cultures as repositories of knowledge. Indian teachers who speak English while teaching a creative activity in an Anglo-Indian school are bilingual. They are in the ideal position for introducing the theory-practice model into the classroom.

Anglo-Indian teachers who do not speak an Indian language fluently, must be encouraged to use an Indian language while teaching a creative subject. Anglo-Indian teachers will require INSET (In-Service Training) to cope with the bilingual programme. There was a sizable number of Anglo-Indian teachers who spoke English and an Indian language. These teachers admitted that they would find it difficult to teach their subjects in a bilingual classroom. (See Profile Nos. 239-246 and No.373)

(44) Young, R. (1989) A Critical Theory of Education: Habermas and our children's future Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf (p.69).

(45) De Castell, S. and Freeman, H. (1978) op. cit., (p.15).

(46) Caldwell, B.J. and Spinks, J.M. (1988) The Self-managing School London: The Falmer Press (p.166) The Collaborative School Management Cycle (CSMC) was created by Rosebery District High School on the west coast of Tasmania, and was evolved at Rosebery over a number of years, commencing in 1977. This made it the first school in Australia to have implemented such a dynamic, democratic approach to management.

(47) Baier, K. (1971) op. cit., (p.101)

(48) Baier, K. (1971) op. cit., (p.101)

(49) Rogers, C.R. (1977) op. cit., (p.104)

(50) Rubin, D.L. (1986) 'Nobody Play by the Rules he know: Ethnocentric Interference in Classroom Questioning Events' IN: Y.Y.Kim (ed.) Interethnic Communication: Current Research International and Intercultural Communication annual Vol. X London: SAGE (p.160)

(51) Paterson, C.H. (1977) Foundations for a Theory of Instruction and Educational Psychology New York: Harper & Row (p.301) Paterson also claims that the "transmission of the culture is the first requirement for survival" (p.237) and this transmission for the Anglo-Indian child takes place not only in his/her home but in the Anglo-Indian school. Therefore, the home and the school should promote bilingualism, and Anglo-Indian children should be encouraged to read books in both English and an Indian language from early childhood.

(52) Piaget, J. (1972) op. cit., (p.117).

(53) Cunningham, C., Perry, G., and Walder, D. (1986) op. cit., (p.5)

(54) Rubin, D.L. (1986) op. cit., (p.160)

(55) Caldwell, B.J. and Spinks, J.M. (1988) op. cit., (p.36)

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. First, the threads of the previous chapters about size, language and religion will be drawn together and some general conclusions drawn. Second, the chapter will suggest recommendations to the Anglo-Indian community.

The argument is that contrary to popular thinking, the community's current educational disadvantage (1, 2, 3) (c.f. discussion above Chs. 6-8 pp.203-316) is rooted in the community's history (c.f. discussion above Chs. 2-4 pp.46-163). Historical evidence shows that the British deliberately created a policy to educate Anglo-Indians for a subordinate role, (4) exploiting the size, language and religion of the community for their benefit.

The chapter will argue that the comparative study of the historical evidence and the field study findings suggest that Anglo-Indian schools are the process which creates a mind set in Anglo-Indians. This mind set legitimizes inequalities which:

- attributes low academic aspirations of Anglo-Indians to personal failure;
- justifies the academic success of privileged Indians;

thus creating educational disadvantage for Anglo-Indians. So, the current curriculum policies do not embody the preferences and decisions of Anglo-Indians.

This chapter argues that, the curriculum should be shaped

to overcome the issues arising from size, language and religion. The educational change advocated in the new curriculum should exploit the protection given to the community by the Constitution of India.

The structure of the chapter is:

(i) Historical evidence and the field study data
(ii) The research question and the answer
(iii) The theory-practice model in the socio-practical field of Anglo-Indian classrooms
(iv) Recommendations.

2. Historical evidence and the field study data

The historical evidence documented:

- education for subordinacy, (5)
- inequality of access to further and higher education, (6)
- repressive policies by the British which created the stereotype Anglo-Indian who was landless, unemployed, illegitimate, immoral and untrustworthy, (7)
- segregation in various "quarters and colonies in India" (8) which discouraged integration into Indian society, and
- powerlessness by the community to forge a solidarity. (9)

At this point the thesis is suggesting that the three issues (c.f. discussion above Ch. 1 pp.30-1) of size (together with ethnicity), language and religion were central to the structures and processes which lie at the heart of the Anglo-Indian educational system. (10)

The curriculum was conceived by colonialists and Christian missionaries (c.f. discussion above Chs.2-4

pp.46-163). The concentration of power and decision making was in the hands of European colonialists and Christian missionaries. Significant among the factors affecting the delivery of the curriculum was the reservation of subordinate jobs for Anglo-Indians (c.f. discussion above Ch. 2 p.56 and p.63, Ch. 3 p.87, Ch.4 p.107). The Anglo-Indian educational system thus legitimized inequality. The ideology and structure of this system fostered and reinforced the belief held by Anglo-Indians that literacy in English and belief in Christianity assigned them to important jobs.

Yet this thesis is arguing that, beneath the facade of meritocracy, the community's size, language and religion have long been negative curriculum determinants. However, the symbolism of this influential curriculum is deeply etched in the Anglo-Indian consciousness. The Anglo-Indians were literally "schooled" to accept their unequal economic positions. Nothing exhibits this more clearly than the unequal educational outcomes and poverty in the community described in the history of Anglo-Indian schools (c.f. discussion above Ch. 2 pp.58-62, Ch. 3 pp.86-7, and p.91, Ch.4 p.115, p.117, p.119 and p.144).

2.1. The field study data: Ethnicity and size

The field study evidence about ethnicity and size described the community as being not less than 300,000 and not more than 400,000 in India today. At this point, the thesis is arguing that Anglo-Indians have not benefited from the reasonably well developed statistical and survey methodology in India. (11) (c.f. discussion above Ch. 6 p.208) The knowledge of the racial characteristics (12) demographic processes (13) and conditions of the Anglo-Indian community was superficial, peripheral and limited. (14) Since 1961 (c.f.

discussion above Ch. 6 pp.208-10), there was little reliable information about the distribution of the Anglo-Indian community's population.

This was important to this research because the social process of funding education depends on population statistics. (15) The last number count given in research was 150,000 in 1988. (16) The Anglo-Indian community was unable to offer a number from their own census, because the community lacked solidarity. (17) Each association appeared to be the legitimate representative of the Anglo-Indians.

Although, most Anglo-Indians accepted the Constitution of India's definition of an Anglo-Indian, this acceptance was attenuated by race and cultural marks. For example, the Keralite Anglo-Indians, who are known as Other Backward Classes (c.f. discussion above, Ch. 6. pp.222-7) and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians who are known as Scheduled Tribe (c.f. discussion above Ch. 6. pp.227-9, see also, Appendix 7) should be included in the census of the Anglo-Indian community.

Conflict between the associations prevented a nationally agreed viewpoint on the size of the community (c.f. discussion above Ch. 4 p.144 and Ch. 6 pp.204-7. See also Appendix 1 381 Profile Nos. 451-474 comment on p.410). Conflict created differential provision according to social class in the schools and this reinforced inequality between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians. Conflict closed communication channels between the powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association with its headquarters in New Delhi and the other Anglo-Indian associations. This had created diverse educational policies in the Anglo-Indian schools.

The field study data identified areas of weakness by the

associations in managing their own schools. These were related to:

- Goal identification for Anglo-Indians;
- Implementation and outcome of educational strategies and policies to eliminate disadvantage for Anglo-Indians;
- In-Service Training for Anglo-Indian teachers to improve their educational qualifications;
- Appraisal of all teaching staff;
- Accountability to the community.

It is the interpretation of the thesis that the conflict and fragmentation of the Anglo-Indian community have given different schools different goals in dealing with the issues of size, language and religion.

Some schools have attributed different priorities to these issues, or have been unable to define these issues which have any operational meaning (c.f. discussion above Ch. 4 p.143-4. See Appendix 1 Profile Nos.509 p.412 and 583 p.414). Since these three issues are so unclear to the Anglo-Indian associations, the processes of teaching and learning are clouded in ambiguity.

The thesis is also arguing that the conflict has reinforced boundaries between the schools administered by different associations. Thus, the schools fall back to a defensive position from which they perhaps use their claim to professional autonomy to fight off demands for accountability (c.f. discussion above Ch. 4 p.143 and p.149. See Appendix 1 Profile No. 100 p.387).

Thus, it can be argued that the fundamental importance of unclear membership of the community is affecting educational goals in Anglo-Indian schools. The notion of membership of Anglo-Indian association is ambiguous. The fragmentation of the community is existing within a

turbulent environment. The field study data revealed a tendency to confuse rather than clarify the definition of an Anglo-Indian.

The Anglo-Indian community should accept the definition of the Anglo-Indian found in the Constitution of India. If this were done the community could create a solidarity which would provide a basis for participative decision-making. All Anglo-Indian associations would bring with them not only potential solutions to the educational problems in the schools but also problems seeking solutions.

The next section discusses in more detail, the first of the these studied issues, namely, the issue of language.

2.2. The field study data: Language

Anglo-Indian schools must teach Anglo-Indians their mother tongue English. The schools must also teach Indian languages. Anglo-Indians must pass the Indian language examinations. Failure to do this results in repeating a year in the same class, or not passing the secondary school examinations at 16+. Knowledge of Indian languages is important to enter further and higher education in India.

The thesis has argued that the language education policies in Anglo-Indian schools **fail** Anglo-Indian children for four reasons:

1. The schools prevent the Anglo-Indian child from

> ... participating in the educational system with self-respect. (18)

This experience negates and reverses the bilingual skills of Anglo-Indian students (c.f. discussion above Ch. 7. p. 282. See Appendix 1 Profile Nos. 111-2, 114, 116, 118-9, pp.389-391 No. 375, p.408 Nos. 392-432 pp.408-9).

2. The Anglo-Indian schools compounds this factor in a related issue of cultural deprivation. Lack of linguistic skills affects the life-world of Anglo-Indians preventing them from integration with Indian society.

3. Cultural and linguistic deprivation when coupled with poverty and social class creates a restricted language code (19) for Anglo-Indians not only in an Indian language but also in their mother tongue English. (See Appendix 1 Profile Nos. 111-114, 116, 118, 119, pp. 389-391, No.125 p.392, No.375 p.408, No.392-432 pp.408-9).

4. Academic retardation starts when these young people experience school as a place of failure. Teacher expectations remain low for Anglo-Indian students (c.f. discussion above Ch. 7. p. 275-7. See Appendix 1 Profile No.391 p.408).

The field study data reveals aspects of unequal opportunities offered to Anglo-Indian students in the language curriculum. The findings focus powerfully on aspects of ethnic (Anglo-Indian and Indian) differentiation, motivation and anxiety.

The field study demonstrated teacher expectation and the different ways in which Anglo-Indians and Indians were affected by the crucial implications for tutoring in English and an Indian language. In 1990, the field study data revealed that the language curriculum and methods alienated Anglo-Indians. The classroom observation offered evidence of what happened to them in language periods (c.f. Ch. 7 discussion above pp.252-6).

Anglo-Indian attitudes towards language learning are amplified or created by the Anglo-Indian classroom. The field study classroom observation and interviews analyzed what actually happened to create disadvantage. The theory-practice model was created to try and change the classroom situation (c.f. discussion above Ch. 9 p.331) The common fallacy of Anglo-Indian failure has included an over-emphasis on Indian success to learn English and Indian languages in the schools.

The relationship between the language curriculum and the educational needs of Anglo-Indian students was a major and urgent focus of this research. The emergent issue in this thesis is one of trying to improve the effectiveness of language teaching to Anglo-Indians. The theory-practice model will enable teachers to reduce negative anomalies and devises a more specialist form of tutoring through a bilingual teaching programme in the classroom.

The next section discusses the second issue, religious education.

2.3. The field study data: Religious education

The Constitution of India holds that the state is secular, and does not get involved with religion, although it provides equal opportunities for all religions, Articles 28 and 30 clearly express this decision about religious education. Religious instruction is a sensitive area, and the tenth recommendation in The Mudaliar Commission's Report (1953) specifically states:

> Religious instruction may be given in schools only on a voluntary basis and outside the regular school hours, such instruction being confined to the children of the particular

> faith concerned and given with the consent of the parents and the managements. (20)

After the promulgation of the Constitution, there was a perceptible shift from the question of imparting religious instruction to that of inculcating social, moral and spiritual values. The major recommendations of the Report of the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction, 1960, offered a curriculum which could best be described as a world community of religions. This was contained with a framework of ethical criteria, which had taken into consideration the basic premises of human life and society. (21)

The Education Commission (1964-66) was concerned about the

> ... serious defect in the school curriculum
> ... the absence of provision for education in social, moral and spiritual values. (22)

The thesis is arguing that the religious education policies in Anglo-Indian schools **fail** Anglo-Indian children for three reasons:

1. The present practice of teaching Christianity and ethics (moral education) in separate classrooms to Christians and non-Christians, outside school hours is irrelevant to India's pluralist society (c.f. discussion above Ch. 8 pp.306-8).
2. The religious education policy is non-integrative. (23)
3. Teachers are:
   - inadequately trained for teaching a two-tiered curriculum in Christianity and Moral Education;
   - this voluntary curriculum was not taken seriously by students or staff (c.f. discussion above Ch. 8 p.304. See also, Appendix 1 Profile Nos. 75-88 p.385 and No. 161 p.395).

The emergent issue here is one of trying to improve the effectiveness of ethical pluralism. (24) The unique social system in an Anglo-Indian school would provide a learning experience which would increase understanding between different communities. It would increase the dialogue between Anglo-Indians and non Anglo-Indians (c.f. discussion above Ch. 8 p.305) and decrease the isolation of the community in India today. (See Appendix 1 Profile No. 59 p.383 Nos. 510-529 pp.412-3, Nos. 551-581 pp. 413-4 and No. 583 p.414)

The argument is being made that the individual personal, social and educational guidance of ethical pluralism can be divided amongst subject teachers. Each teacher could offer to teach an area in the ethical pluralism programme. Otherwise, the depressing separatism will continue in the schools (See Appendix 1 Profile Nos.59 p.383, and Nos. 75-88 p.385).

The relationship between ethical pluralism and the educational needs of the whole population of pupils in regard to their perception of a multi-ethnic society is a major and urgent focus for this thesis. Anglo-Indian children are not being helped to become pupils. Anglo-Indian children are not being helped to integrate with Indians. Anglo-Indian children are not learning how to succeed in their classrooms.

The question of educational backwardness next needs to be addressed. The next section discusses the answer to the research question on educational backwardness.

3. The research question and answer

The research question was:

> **Why is the Anglo-Indian community being labelled "backward" in India today, and is this "backward" tag linked to educational backwardness?**

The answer to the research question is in three parts.

First, despite Constitutional guarantees, the Anglo-Indian community has created their own political backwardness. The Anglo-Indian community prefers conflict to cooperation. (c.f. discussion above Ch. 6 pp.233-4. See Appendix 1 Profile No. 172 p.397). This lack of solidarity and collective power, through their own lack of vision in the community, has led to a whole range of influences which impinged upon Anglo-Indian education (See Appendix 1 Profile Nos. 551-581 pp.413-4).

Second, monolingualism, that is knowledge of English only, and a lack of understanding of India's religions has affected the new ethnic Anglo-Indian's efforts to integrate into the life-world of post-independent India (c.f. discussion above Ch. 6 pp.220-2).

Third, it is a major indictment that the schools legitimised inequality of educational opportunities to Anglo-Indians. The Anglo-Indians have failed and continue to fail in their own schools. Educational change for academic success is negotiated, not with Anglo-Indians, but with wealthy non Anglo-Indians whose need dictated the curriculum (c.f. discussion above Ch. 4 pp.116-20). The schools prepare Anglo-Indians for a life-world of very low socio-economic expectation.

Beneath the facade of meritocracy lies the reality of an

educational system which has failed to educate its own children. The Anglo-Indian educational system has not been accountable to the Anglo-Indian community. The fragmented, conflict-ridden associations will soon lose their schools if these trends continue.

The senior management teams in the schools still lack qualified Anglo-Indians. There will be no Anglo-Indian Principals and Headteachers, because nothing is being done in the schools to promote effective delivery of the language and religious education curriculum. Fragmentation in the community is reflected in the institutionalized and often destructive attitudes towards Anglo-Indian learning.

This thesis offers a theory-practice model to hopefully eliminate such educational disadvantage. From the historical and field study evidence at least, there is evidence that the schooling has contributed to subordinacy.

It is the argument of the thesis that the diagnosis of what is actually happening now in Anglo-Indian schools is complete. What is likely to be happening in the future if no change effort is made is the loss of the schools to the community. The thesis is arguing that implementing change depends on solidarity in the community and translating the diagnostic data of chapters 1-4 and 6-8 into new goals and plans.

The next section argues that the theory-practice model in chapter 9 offers a strategy and procedure to implement change in the classroom. A retreat from this educational theory-practice model will limit the cognitive achievements of most Anglo-Indian students.

4. The theory-practice model in the socio-practical field of Anglo-Indian schools

The theory-practice model involves attempting to reduce the discrepancies between the real, or actual learning experience of Anglo-Indians in their classrooms and the ideal. The theory-practice model has practical applicability in an Anglo-Indian classroom. It offers teachers enough flexibility of mind and creativity needed to **sustain** the model in a classroom through Action Research and Case Studies. Action Research and Case Studies will identify the problems of implementing the theory-practice model into the classrooms. Problem identification will be immediately followed by analysis of the theory-practice model.

The theory-practice model provides a guideline to teachers for developing strategies for implementing change. This thesis argues that new knowledge has been made available to the Anglo-Indian community in this thesis. The researcher interviewed teachers and their students. The positive news is that there was a genuine request made by teachers and students for change. Therefore, the researcher is taking part in a participative change cycle with a teacher in a classroom.

5. Recommendations

Six recommendations are made to eliminate disadvantage in the Anglo-Indian community.

RECOMMENDATION 1
ACCOUNTABILITY TO THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

1. The schools must seek to create an **egalitarian and liberating** educational system for Anglo-Indians.

2. The schools must apply an educational philosophy of **personal development for all Anglo-Indians.**

RECOMMENDATION 2
NEGOTIATING AN ANGLO-INDIAN SOLIDARITY IN INDIA

1. The in-group and out-groups must adopt a more prejudice-reductionist policy for the future.

2. Anglo-Indian schools should all belong to a **central governing body,** which has elected representatives from all the associations which manage schools.

3. A solidarity would **prevent any takeover bid of the schools** by non Anglo-Indians.

RECOMMENDATION 3
BILINGUALISM AND ECONOMIC POWER: ADOPTING THE THEORY-PRACTICE MODEL

1. Anglo-Indian schools should implement vigorously a **bilingual (Indian language and English)** and a **monolingual (English language)** learning programme for all Anglo-Indians.

2. An **induction course** should be arranged at least a month before the start of the first term to induct Anglo-Indian children into the school. Presently, Anglo-Indian children from slums arrive in these elitist schools, as if they have entered a foreign country.

3. During the field study, comments were made about the lack of interest shown by Anglo-Indians in applying for scholarships in their own schools. Obviously, "freeships", that is, free board and tuition, are still available for Anglo-Indians. Therefore, **money can be**

released to introduce an induction course for Anglo-Indians. An incentive allowance should be offered to teachers who are responsible for the course.

RECOMMENDATION 4
ETHICAL PLURALISM AND INTEGRATION INTO INDIAN SOCIETY: ADOPTING THE THEORY-PRACTICE MODEL

1. **Ethical pluralism could be introduced during creative and practical activities.** Mime, dance, drama, music, set designs, costume-making, carpentry, metalwork, drawing, painting and puppet-making, could all be learning environments for introducing stories about religions. The keyword is **sharing in a doing and knowing learning environment.** Aspects of **personal and social education** would exist in areas of creative and practical activities.
2. Anglo-Indian schools have a **natural resource base** in the school to introduce ethical pluralism into the classroom. This **resource lies in the students who are Buddhists, Christians, Hindus, Jains, Jews, Muslims and Parsees.**

RECOMMENDATION 5
A CENTRAL BOARD OF MANAGEMENT FOR ALL ANGLO-INDIAN SCHOOLS: THE PROFESSIONALS AS ADMINISTRATORS

1. There should be **participation of all teachers** in selecting representatives either from a state or region. The ultimate accommodating technique would be the role of the **professional as administrator.** This would:
(i) encourage external representation;
(ii) legitimise hierarchy;
(iii) help to ensure that professional autonomy would not be restricted by bureaucratic formalisation dictated to by powerful, ambitious politicians (c.f.

discussion above Ch. 4 pp.141-45).

2. Feedback must be offered to all participating Anglo-Indian schools within the organisation, to facilitate professionals to achieve **co-operation rather than conflict.**

These recommendations will pose a problem for leadership, particularly since the role of Anglo-Indian school is linked to politicians, who either own the schools, or are influential Chairmen of the Management Boards. Anglo-Indian schools must be encouraged to reassert themselves as community schools, freed from non-professional or political interference. What the schools now need is a participatory model of management. The hierarchy should be recognised by all the groups as legitimate. This elected hierarchy would not adversely affect the autonomy of the professionals.

The future of Anglo-Indian schools lies in the hands of Anglo-Indian professionals and not Anglo-Indian politicians. The reason lies in the conflicting roles of educationists and politicians in the context of Anglo-Indian education. The commitment to organisational goals and concern with advancement for the educationist would be related to the school, but with the politician the advancement is related to a nominated seat in the State Legislative Assembly or Indian Parliament.

It will mean returning the schools to the professionals. The research interviewed eleven Principals and four Headmasters of Anglo-Indian schools. The role of the Principal includes management, administration and whole school development. The Headteachers are usually responsible for the curriculum, pastoral care, staff development, community links and examinations.

Principals and Headteachers are a source of influence, because they are dynamic, caring members of the profession, whose honest reputations preceded them. They were in a position to exercise normative control. The Principals and Headteachers possess the widest and most extensive connections with outside bodies - the governors, parents, teachers, social services, representatives from the Department of Education and politicians.

The schools are successful for non Anglo-Indians. They are considered elitist schools, with long waiting lists among non Anglo-Indians to enter these schools. Non Anglo-Indians respect and value Anglo-Indian education. The researcher was impressed with the number of non Anglo-Indian ex-students who have entered the professions of medicine, law, education, engineering and politics.

This list of successful ex-non Anglo-Indian students from these schools demonstrated the favourable educational outcome for non Anglo-Indian students. Therefore, in the researcher's opinion, the time has come to build on the success of these schools. The next recommendation describes this.

RECOMMENDATION 6
THE WAY FORWARD: ANGLO-INDIAN UNIVERSITY COLLEGES AFFILIATED TO INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

Anglo-Indian University Colleges affiliated to Indian Universities must be planned for the future. The time has come to create a vision for Anglo-Indian education. The time has come to act boldly, in order to stride confidently into the twenty first century.

In 1990, Anglo-Indian schools offered ten years of primary and secondary schooling, plus two years of

further education. The Anglo-Indian system must add three more years of higher education. This would mirror the Indian Educational Formula, namely, 10+2+3.

An Anglo-Indian University College would be a centre of excellence for the Arts, Education, Humanities and Sciences. At least two Anglo-Indian residential schools in Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu and two day schools in Tamil Nadu and Kerala have extensive acreage, which awaits development.

Barnes School (residential) in Maharashtra, Laidlaw Memorial College (residential) in Ketti, Doveton Corrie School (day) in Madras and the C.C.P.L.M. Anglo-Indian High School (day) in Perumanoor, Cochin could be the venues of four Anglo-Indian University Colleges affiliated to the Universities of Bombay, Madras and Kerala.

The International Community of Anglo-Indians has expressed an interest in this research. (25) Many of these professional Anglo-Indians attended Anglo-Indian schools before emigrating. Expansion in the future must be vertical into higher education, and not horizontal into secondary and further education.

It could be a global Anglo-Indian initiative to take Anglo-Indian education in India, into University education. The support and enthusiasm of American, Australian, British, Canadian and Anglo-Indians in India should be harnessed to build University Colleges. While deeply committed to an education in the medium of English, the University Colleges could offer bilingual courses in the Arts, Education, Humanities and Sciences.

The initiative would offer a project to Anglo-Indians searching for a composite identity which could bring the

international community of Anglo-Indians together. At a simple level, the Anglo-Indian schools are for Anglo-Indian children. But the Anglo-Indian University College would be a meeting-educational-point for a range of cultures. These cultures would be supported, developed and maintained in an educational celebration of cultural diversity. An Anglo-Indian University College will be an enrichment for all students.

The building of Anglo-Indian University Colleges would help to preserve a unique racial, linguistic and religious minority community's heritage. The wealth of the Anglo-Indian community is in its educational institutions. Anglo-Indian University Colleges will create a revolutionary transformation of educational and economic life for Anglo-Indians in India.

It will only occur if the community in India possesses a solidarity and total vision of a new ethnic Anglo-Indian community. This community through dynamic educational change will be integrated with Indian society.

The global response to expanding Anglo-Indian schools into Anglo-Indian University Colleges will be a goal accomplishment. It will be a deliberate strategy to create a sense of identity among the members of the international community.

The thesis has attempted to explain some of the reasons for Anglo-Indian educational disadvantage and has made recommendations as to how these might be addressed. The crucial aspect of this is that the Anglo-Indian community cannot survive unless it puts its own educational house in order. No matter which passports they carry or nationalities they possess, the uniqueness of the Anglo-Indian community will only endure if these educational tasks are undertaken in its education.

CHAPTER 10

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) In 1975, The Havanur Report stated that groups of persons could be identified as backward, in various aspects of "human existence - social, cultural, economic, political" (See no. 39 Chapter 5 Notes) in India.

In India the word backward is generally understood as castes or communities which were enumerated in the Census Report of 1911. "The Europeans and Anglo-Indians who have English as their mother tongue will of course be excluded by that fact". See, Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider Steps necessary for the Adequate Representation of Communities in the Public Service. (no date) p.1 The views in this Report were expressed by Miller, L.C; Aiyar, C.S; Chennaiya, H; Basavaiya, M; Kalami, G.A. and Muthanna, M.

In 1987, Anglo-Indians who were British citizens, described the "appalling conditions" under which their relatives and friends lived. See, Lobo, A. (1988) Anglo-Indians in Britain: An Educational Perspective of an Urban Ethnic-Minority Community Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts Degree in Urban Education. The Institute of Education, University of London. The British Anglo-Indians referred to their relatives and friends in India as "backward Anglo-Indians".

(2) See the Introduction for a description of the Channel 4 programme which offered British viewers scenes of poverty, unemployment and neglect in the Anglo-Indian community in India.

(3) Lobo, A. (1988) op. cit.,

(4) Park, R.E., Burgess, E.W. and McKenzie, R.D. (1925, 1967, 1984) The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment Chapter III 'The Ecological Approach to the study of the Human Community' Midway Reprint Chicago: The University of Chicago Press p.68

(5) See, Hedin, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.40 pp.165-179. Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. In 1934 Hedin, E.L. referred to Anglo-Indians as "servile hangers-on of officialdom that there is little doubt of their attempting to curry favour with Hindus or Moslems or both if there seems to be a prospect of complete

native rule in India". (p.175) He also described the Anglo-Indians as being displaced by non Anglo-Indians for government jobs. "The programme of Indianization of government services displaced a good many Anglo-Indians, the new educational requirement displaced still more, for while nearly all Anglo-Indians have some education, very few of them are able to afford university training".(p.173)

See, Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958 (The Baptist Report) Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press; see also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University, Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 University Microfilms International; see also, Chatterjee, E.P. (1982) Adaptation in a Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909-1935 Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University, Montreal Quebec, Canada Microfilm; see also, Francis, G.F. (1986) 'Speech by MLA on the Floor of the Assembly on 18-4-1986 on the Education Demand' THE DAWN OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH INDIA Vol.1 No.1; see also, Gidney, H. (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reforms Scheme in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. XXI pp.657-662; see also, Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. LXXXIII pp.27-42; see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian schools in India Unpublished Thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts of London University; see also, Cressey, P.F. (1935) 'The Anglo-Indians: A Disorganised Marginal Group' SOCIAL FORCES XIV December pp.263-8 (p.265); see also, Graham, J. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian child' JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November Vol. 23 pp.21-46; see also, Grimshaw, A.D. (1959) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: The Integration of a Marginal Group' THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES XVIII February pp.227-40 (p.231)

(6) See, Gidney, H. (1934) op. cit., p.36. By 1934 Gidney stated that, "nearly 20,000, or more than one-third of the total able-bodied men of the community, are unemployed - the majority of them homeless and in rags, roaming the streets in quest of food. Thousands of the community, including many with fine records of military service, are today depending on charity from their friends and public bodies to keep body and soul together". (p.36) See also, Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. 35 pp.71-96. By 1939, the educational system had etched a subordinate perspective deeply into their psyche and, intelligent Anglo-Indian men and women "who had shown good promise while at school had been compelled on account of poverty to take up duties which were lacking in scope and prospects". (p.78)

See also, The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report (1959) op. cit., (p.2) By 1959, The Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report better known as The Baptist Report, stated that 31% of Anglo-Indians had studied beyond matriculation. Out of 1207 individuals, only 5 men were graduates. The survey stated that 40% of Anglo-Indians lived in huts and there was frustration, indifference, distrust of Anglo-Indian associations. Higher education was "discarded in favour of technical or professional training, which however cannot get to a high level unless backed by general education". (p.2) See also, Brennan, N.L. (1979) op. cit., (p.9, p.111, p.121, p.160). See also, Abel, E.P. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications (pp.93-4) Abel attributes this fact to an inability "to support their families and cannot afford the period of study". (p.94)

(7) In 1786 repressive policies by the East India Company marked the beginning of disadvantage suffered by the Anglo-Indians. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of these repressive policies. A pattern of economic inequality was set for Anglo-Indians by the end of the eighteenth century. The relative powerlessness of the community after the repressive policies and loss of trust of the Indian princes in 1798 and the Hindus and Muslims in 1857 created a community, reconciled to their subordinacy. Each generation of Anglo-Indians transmitted the subordinate status, so that by 1907, Anglo-Indians were still struggling to achieve mass elementary education. See, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., (p.72) see also, Lee, M.H. (1912) The Eurasian: A Social Problem M.A. Dissertation Microfilm. Chicago: University of Chicago. Anglo-Indians were being described in 1912 as lacking "strength in muscle, mind and will". (p.12); see also, Hedin, E.L. (1934) op. cit., p.168.

The Anglo-Indians were being "ostracized by both English and Indians". (p.168) See also, Grimshaw, A.D. (1959) 'The Anglo-Indian Community, The Integration of a Marginal Group' THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES Vol. XVIII February 1959 pp.227-240. Their position was becoming "more tenuous and unstable". (p.230) See, Malelu, S.J. (1964) The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality Doctoral Thesis University Microfilms The Ohio State University.By 1947, the community was poised "on the periphery of two social worlds and its link with the one served only to vitiate its standing in the other". (p.78); see also, Naidis, R. (1963) op.cit., (p.421)

The few Anglo-Indians who were successful educated their children in England. These Anglo-Indians merged into the European community, because they were "of sufficiently light pigmentation to pass for European" (p.421). See

also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol.24 pp.417-446. This betrayal of their Anglo-Indianness was a "serious loss" (p.420) to the Anglo-Indian community. See also, Graham, J. (1934) op. cit., p.28. By 1920, Anglo-Indians were living in unsatisfactory social conditions. See, Gidney, H. (1925) op. cit., (p.659) In 1925, the "apathetic policy, conducted without relevance to the politics both of the European and the Indian" created confusion in the community. (p.659) See, Hartog, P. (1929) Indian Statutory Commission, Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Review of growth of education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission September 1929. Cmd. 3407. In 1929, the Hartog Commission criticised the community for segregating the Anglo-Indian schools because this created communal differences and accentuated racial animosities. The schools were an obstacle to integration with Indians.

(8) After 1857, Anglo-Indians became increasingly segregated into railway "colonies" or "quarters" which were reserved for them. They became a "landless group" dependent on "specific kinds of government employment". (p.419 Naidis, 1963) Although the British did encourage the Anglo-Indians to accept subordinate jobs, they continued to discriminate against the Anglo-Indians who were ethnically and racially different.

(9) Abel, E. (1988) an Anglo-Indian researcher stated: "The Anglo-Indian Community in the 1980s is a more cohesive group than it was at the start of the twentieth century". (p.175) It seemed highly improbable that by 1990, the Anglo-Indian community was split into different associations. The statement by Abel, E. (1988) and the field study's findings were at opposite poles. See, Abel, E. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications. See, Archer, M. 'Educational Politics: A Model for their Analysis' IN: I. McNay and J. Ozga (eds.) Policy-Making in education: The Breakdown of Consensus Open University Set Book Pergamon Press Oxford 1985 p.39)For such a small group among India's millions, their political representation is assured. Educational Politics is the "stuff of these associations and the schools are their only hope". (Profile No. 96) See, Hogg, M.A. and Abrams, D. (1988) Social identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes London: Routledge p.101; see also, Bonner, H. (1959) Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications New York: Ronald Press; see also, Schacter, S; Ellerston, N; McBride, D. and Gregory, D. (1951) 'An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity' HUMAN RELATIONS Vol.4 pp.229-38

(10) The Constitution of India protects the Anglo-Indian

schools, because the Constitution recognises the racial, religious and linguistic aspects of the Anglo-Indian community. See Abel, E.P. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India Delhi: Chanakya Publications. (p.95); see also, Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) Development of Education in India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents before and after Independence New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co. (p.431); see also, DeSouza, A.A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960 New Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.297); see also, Jha, H. (1985) Colonial Context of Higher Education in India, Patna University from 1917-1951: A Sociological Appraisal New Delhi: Usha (p.31); see also, Kumar, A. (1985) Cultural and Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution New Delhi: Deep & Deep (pp.237-8); see also, Mayhew, A. (1928) The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India 1835-1920, and of its bearing on National Life and Problems in India Today London: Faber and Gwyer (p.67); see also, Nurullah,S. and Naik, J.P. (1952) History of Education in India during the British period Bombay: Macmillan & Co. (p.859); see also, Saini, S.K. (1980) Development of Education in India: Socio-Economic and Political Perspectives New Delhi: Cosmo Publications (p.399); see also, Tiwari, R. (1965) op. cit., (p.198); see also, Yaqin, A. (1982) Constitutional Protection of Minority Educational Institutions in India New Delhi: Deep & Deep pp.303-4

(11) Kammeyer, K.C.W. (1972) An Introduction to Population Intertext Books, London p.45

(12) Mahalanobis, P.C. (1922) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' Part I: Analysis of Male Stature REC.IND.MUS XXXIII; see also, by the same author, (1931) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' Part II: Analysis of Anglo-Indian Head Length REC.IND.MUS. XXIII; and see also, (1940) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' Part II: Analysis of Seven Characters REC.IND.MUS. XXIII. Other Indian anthropologists have also examined the racial characteristics of Anglo-Indians. See also, Sarkar, S.S. (1943) 'Analysis of Indian Blood Group Data with special reference to the Oraons' TRANS. BOSE RES. INST. XV Calcutta; see also, Sarkar, S.S., Das, B.M., and Agarwal, K.K., (1953) 'The Anglo-Indians of Calcutta' MAN IN INDIA Vol. 33 April - June pp.93-102
See also Hoebel, A.E. and Weaver, T. for an account of human experience and anthropology. Hoebel, A.E. and Weaver, T. (1979) Anthropology and Human Experience 5th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

(13) See, Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., p.9 and p.45 The figure was not supported with a research base. It was

difficult to see how she arrived at a figure of 150,000. (p.9) The explanatory note clouded the issue even further. She stated that Anglo-Indians were "included under the general category of Christians whose mother-tongue is English". (p.45) How did she separate the Indian Christians from the Anglo-Indians, to arrive at the figure? Once again, the issue was ambiguous and created more doubt in the researcher's mind.

(14) Miro, C.A. and Potter, J.E. (1980) Population Policy: Research Priorities in the Developing World Report of the International Review Group of Social Science Research on Population and Development Frances Pinter: London p.157

(15) Glass, N.R., Watt, K.E.F. and Foin R.C. (Jr.) (1971) 'Human Ecology and Educational Crises: One Aspect of the Social Cost of an Expanding Population' IN: S.F. Singer (ed.) Is there an Optimum Level of Population? McGraw-Hill Book Co. New York 1971 p.205)

(16) Abel, E. (1988) op. cit., p.9 and p.45

(17) The Anglo-Indian associations did not possess a solidarity. See, Weismantel M.J. and Fradd, S.H. (1989) 'Understanding the Need for Change' IN: S.H.Fradd and M.H.Weismantel Meeting the needs of Cultural and Linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators Boston: A College-Hill Publication; see also, Walford, G. (1990) Privatization and Privilege in Education London: Routledge

The AIAIA felt that it was the only one working for the good of the community. All the other associations were all seen as threatening and counter productive. See, Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. (1970) 'Groups and Group Membership: Introduction' IN: D.Cartwright and A.Zander (eds.) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.49); see also, Brown, R. (1988) Group Processes: Dynamics within and between groups Oxford: Basil Blackwell (p.218); see also, Cartwright, D. (1970) 'The Nature of Group Cohesiveness' IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.104); see also, Hoyle, E. (1988) The Politics of School Management London: Hodder and Stoughton (p.266); see also, Tajfel, H. (1981) Human Groups and Social Categories Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (p.343)

In 1990, autistic hostility produced a reflective racial phenomenon in Anglo-Indian groups, whereby the powerful in-group with 80,000 members, saw itself as being the only association worth "considering or dealing with". (Profile No. 550) Viewed objectively, each group transmitted indirectly rather directly a "certain

cultural capital and a certain ethos". (p.110) See, Bourdieu,P. (1976) 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities' IN: R.Dale, et. al., (eds.) Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and the Open University p.110
See also, Converse, A. and Campbell, J. (1970) 'Political Standards in Secondary Groups' IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory Third Edition London: Tavistock Publications Ltd. (p.203); see also, Hughes, M. (1985) 'Leadership in Professionally Staffed Organisations' IN: M.Hughes, P.Ribbins, and H.Thomas (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston pp.278-84

(18) Pattanayak, D.P. (1981) Multilingualism and Mother Tongue Education New Delhi: Oxford University Press (p.75); see also, Fradd, S.H. and Weismantal, M.H. (eds.) (1989) Meeting the needs of Cultural and Linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators Boston: A College-Hill Publication (p.6); see also, Gandhi, K. (1977) Issues and Choices in Higher Education: A Sociological Analysis Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation (p.142); see also, The Kothari Report (1968) Report of the Education Commission (1964-1966) Education and National Development Ministry of Education Govt. of India. Kothari Commission (p.3) See also, Naik, J.P. (1982) The Education Commission and After New Delhi: Allied Publishers; see also, Das Gupta, J. (1970) Language Conflict and National Development: Group Politics and National Language Policy in India Bombay: Oxford University Press Das Gupta, J. (1970) argued that "neither English in elite communication nor the regional languages in mass communication were easy to displace." (p.49)

The Report of the Official Language Commission's Chairman (1956) advocated introducing Hindi to replace English, and the Report was accepted by the Committee of Parliament on Official Languages in 1958. In 1971, the Study Group on Teaching of English appointed by the Ministry of Education stated that English will be used as a "source language with a view to enriching our own languages," (p.9) and also described English as a "link with the wider world of thought and discovery." (p.10) See, Ministry of Education (1971) Report of the Study Group on the Teaching of English Govt. of India New Delhi.

See also, Quirk, R. (1972) The Use of English London: ELBS and Longman (p.13); see also, Satya Sundaram, I. (1981) Language Problem of India Machilipatnam: Sree Nandini Press (p.96); see also, Singh, R.P. (1989) Educating the Indian Elite New Delhi: Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd. (p.72); see also, Sinha, S.P. (1978)

English in India: A Historical Study with Particular Reference to English Education in India Patna: Janaki Prakashan (p.142); Sinha S.P. expresses concern about the decline of English teaching and the cultural fusion which has taken place of "Anglo-Indian, Indo-Anglian and Indo-English" writers. (p.146); see also, Thirtha, N.V. (1962) Babel: Language Dilemma in Indian Schools Madras: M.Seshachalam & Co. Thirtha, N.V. (1962) argued that students who entered Higher Education in India preferred to learn English as a Second Language (p.55). See also, Yadav, R.K. (1966) The Indian Language Problem: A Comparative Study New Delhi: National Publishing House (p.39 and p.90); see also, Yardi, V.V. (1977) Teaching English in India Today Aurangabad: Parimal Prakashan. Yardi, V.V. described the importance of English as being in the "process of acquiring the status of a compulsory third language." (p.2)

(19) See, Aboud, F. (1989) Children and Prejudice Oxford: Blackwell. Aboud, F. (1989) identified prejudice as responding in an "unfavourable manner toward people from an ethnic group because of their ethnic affiliations, and to feel negatively toward such people." (p.4); see also, Bernstein, B. (1971) Class, Codes and Control Vol.I Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; see also, Turner, G.J. and Pickvance, R.E. (1973) 'Social Class Differences in the expression of uncertainty in Five Year Old Children' IN: B. Bernstein (ed) Class, Codes and Control Vol. II Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.93); see also, De Houwer, A. (1990) The Acquisition of Two languages from birth: A Case Study Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. See also, Ferdman, B.M. (1990) 'Literacy and Cultural Identity' HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 No.2 May pp.181-204. Ferdman, B.M. argued that language literacy had now become the important focus for the debate about cultural pluralism.

See also, Humes-Bartlo, M. (1989) 'Variations in Children's Ability to Learn Second Languages' IN: K.Hyltenstam and L.K.Obler (eds.) Bilingualism Across the Lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; see also, Iiams, T.M. (1976) 'Assessing the Scholastic Achievement Cognitive Development of Bilingual and Monolingual Children' IN: A. Simoes Jr. (ed.) The Bilingual Child: Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes New York: Academic Press.

See, Mphahlele, E. (1990) 'Alternative Institutions of Education for Africans in South Africa: An Exploration of Rationale Goals and Directions' HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 No.1 February. pp.36-47. Mphahlele, E. argued that teachers should be encouraged to be constantly in touch with the environments of minorities,

with a more "integrated experience" rather than a "subject teaching" base in their classrooms. See also, Poplack, S (1980) 'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish Y Termino En Espanol: Toward a typology of Code-Switching.' LINGUISTICS Vol.18 pp.581-618 p.581

(20) The Mudaliar Commission or the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53)

(21) Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) Development of Education in India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents before and after Independence New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co. p.609

(22) Biswas, A. and Agrawal, S.P. (1986) ibid., p.610 (The Kothari Report - see Chapter 4)

(23) Grimmitt, M. (1987) Religious Education and Human Development: The Relationship between studying Religions and Personal, Social and Moral Education Essex: McGrimmons. pp.267-388

(24) Ethical pluralism would not be offering religious instruction. Under Article 26(1) subject to public order, morality and health, every religious denomination has the right to establish and maintain its own schools for religious purposes. Herein, lies the enigma of religious education in Anglo-Indian schools. The schools are schools which have a Christian ethos, but, none of the schools are existing today for religious purposes. They are multi-purpose schools. Ethical pluralism would ensure that the intellectual and cultural development of different individuals can take place.

For more information about liberal education/ethical pluralism and/or constructing an Integrated Religious Educational Curriculum see, Burgess, A. (1991) 'Schools for the Nineties' THE TABLET Educational Supplement 5 October p.1206; see also, Cole, W.O. (1978) World Faiths in Education London: George Allen & Unwin; see also, Dewey, J. (1916, 1944, 1966) Democracy and Education Toronto, Ont: Collier-Macmillan, First Free Press Paperback Edition. (p.88); see also, Dreeben, R. (1968) On What is Learned in School Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley; see also, Hay, D (1985) 'Suspicion of the Spiritual: Teaching Religion in a World of Secular Experience' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Summer Vol.7 No.3 (pp.140-7); see also, Hirst, P.L. (1974) Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical papers International Library of the Philosophy of Education. General Editor R.S. Peters. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (p.17).

See also, Hilliard, F.H. (1970) 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools' IN: J.R. Hinnells (ed.) Comparative Religion in Education

London: Oriel Press (p.97); see also, Holm, J.L. (1975) Teaching Religion in School: A Practical Approach Oxford: Oxford: Oxford University Press (p.6) Holm, J.L.'s approach to religious education did not depend on personal faith, and therefore there was not need for teachers or pupils to possess a conscience clause, because both would be engaged in a dialogue and an objective study of religions. The problem of conversion would not arise in a learning environment where a discussion of religions is done in a co-operative way. (p.6); see also, Morgan, P. (1986) 'The place of Buddhism in the religious education curriculum' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol.9 No.1 Autumn pp.17-21; see also, Oldfield, K. (1986) 'Including Jainism' BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol.8 No.3 Summer; see also, Pring, R. (1987) Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts and Content Third Impression London: Hodder and Stoughton (p.93) Pring, R. offered a discussion about personal development and examined the curriculum area of religious education. See also, Schultz, T.W. (1966) 'Investment in Poor People' SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAMMES Office of Manpower Policy Evaluation Research. Washington: Department of Labour; see also, Watson, B. (1987) Education and Belief Oxford: Basil Blackwell pp.174-5.

(25) The researcher contacted Anglo-Indians in Australia, Britain, Canada, India and the United States of America. See Appendix 2 for details of this International Community of Anglo-Indians who showed interest in this research.

APPENDIX 1

THE PROFILES OF THE RESPONDENTS

FIELD STUDY CONDUCTED IN INDIA

1990

The Profiles of the respondents have been listed under the headings of the cities. The cities are in alphabetical order. Each profile or group of profiles has information about the age group, sex, religion, interview date and appropriate selective quotations. No names are mentioned because of confidentiality.

CITY: **BANGALORE**

STATE: **KARNATAKA**

DATES: **31 July, and 3-4-5 August**

TOTAL: **74**

1-45 These are the Profiles of 2 Anglo-Indian boys, 34 non-Christian Indian boys, 9 non-Christian Indian girls. The group interview which took place on 31 July was a difficult one. Profile Numbers 13-16 were involved in the interview. The interview took place during a lunch break. The group were involved in an elimination for a talent contest. They completed the answers efficiently, but their interest was divided between the interview and completing the elimination. The school had not organised any separate timetable for the interview. The interview was unsatisfactory, because of the many distractions during the break time.

46 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Bangalore 31 July

He was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school in which students 1-45 were interviewed. He said,

> The Anglo-Indians just cannot study, are constantly playing truant, come from broken homes and a number of them are "repeaters" in a class who eventually dropout of school. Anglo-Indians are incapable of coping with the Higher level Secondary examination I.C.S.E. and opt for the S.S.L.C. I'm afraid that a number of Anglo-Indians are not Anglo-Indians, but "converted/graveyard Christians". These Indian Christians are now expecting the same educational benefits as Anglo-Indians.

47-52 2 Anglo-Indians (1 man and 1 woman) and 4 Indians (1 woman and 3 men) 30-50 31 July

These were teachers in an Anglo-Indian school. They all agreed on the following points:

(1) Anglo-Indians must learn an Indian language. "It is 100% needed."
(2) Being called "backward" is degrading to the Anglo-Indian and must be avoided.
(3) Anglo-Indian students do not work hard enough in school and there are dropouts.
(4) Roman Catholics get financial assistance, and at the Christian institutions "were a boon to the community".

53-56 Anglo-Indians 50-70 1 woman and 3 men 31 July

They were well-informed, community leaders who voiced their concern about the community. They were all members of the in-group of Anglo-Indians.

53 Anglo-Indian woman 60-70 31 July

She was a politician and a social worker. She said,

> There is historical evidence that Anglo-Indians rarely attended Higher Education, and this was because the British taught us to think mediocre, to suit their own British Imperialistic plans in the country.

54 Anglo-Indian man 60-70 31 July

He was a retired Air-Vice Marshall. He said,

> After 16+ Anglo-Indians do not compete with non Anglo-Indians for education or jobs, and this is the main problem. However, much depends on parent's attitudes to education.

55 Anglo-Indian man 60-70 31 July

He was a highly qualified mining engineer, who had started an Anglo-Indian school. He said,

It's all in our minds, because we just do not buckle down and learn the local languages. We must compete and become more professional.

56 Anglo-Indian man 60-70 31 July

He was also a professional man, articulate and well-informed. He said,

We must keep our Christian schools with a Christian atmosphere.

57-63 Anglo-Indians 20-60 2 women and 5 men 31 July

They were social workers who cared for the abandoned senior citizens in the community.

57 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 31 July

She said,

Poverty is endemic in the community. Anglo-Indians have lost job opportunities because of language.

58 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 31 July

She also referred to the language issue in the community. She said,

Learning an Indian language is a "bugbear" to the Anglo-Indians. We all think we can somehow get by with English.

59 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 31 July

He was the leader of the group, and was emigrating to Australia. He said,

I do agree that there is a tendency to isolate oneself, and this was due to Christianity. But, Anglo-Indians and church leaders have clashed on some educational issues. But, nothing seems to come out of it.

60 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 31 July

He said,

The Caste system has been detrimental to the community because we do not have reservations any more, and must compete with everyone else for Higher education and government jobs.

61 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 31 July

He said,

Anglo-Indians must be classified as Backward on an All-India basis and thus benefit from positive discrimination for places at University and for jobs. I refer to the impact emigration has had upon the community

> in India. This is a community without a middle class.

62 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 31 July

He also referred to the mass emigration of Anglo-Indians during the sixties and said,

> The middle class emigrated and therefore there is only a small professional class, and a large semi-skilled and unskilled class.

63 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 31 July

He was a voluntary social worker, and was concerned about the number of Anglo-Indians who were living in poverty, in all the major cities in India, particularly in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore.

64 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 Mysore 3 August

She had a Ph.D in Linguistics. She said,

> Anglo-Indians must be aware of the 3-language formula, and must learn an Indian language. Christianity has socialised the Anglo-Indians within their own patterns of society. There is internal inertia, and one would like to know why this has happened to the community. Both parents must work, and there is very little time spent with children. Anglo-Indians are mainly concentrated in the low socio-economic areas.

65-66 Anglo-Indians 1 man and 1 woman 60-70 Christian Bangalore 4 August

This couple lived in a slum in Lingarajapuram. They were both educated in Anglo-Indian schools, but had found it very difficult to find jobs and were living below the poverty line, that is, Rs.800 per month.

67-68 1 Anglo-Indian woman and 1 Indian Christian man 30-50 Christian Bangalore 4 August

This couple were social workers who lived in the slum of Lingarajapuram. The interview was one of the most rewarding experiences of the field study. They were committed to helping the community and to alleviating poverty. Their decision to make their home among the poor was commonsensical, because they were then readily available and "on the spot" to helping the Anglo-Indians who lived in the slum. at a moment's notice. Both the man and the woman were intelligent, well-informed and articulate people. They were influential people with access to information. They were committed to alleviating poverty and raising educational standards.

69-74 Anglo-Indians 2 women and 4 men 70-80 Christian Bangalore 4 August

This was an unsatisfactory interview, because only 6 people turned up, instead of fifteen, and the leader of the group in this community of retired Anglo-Indians, was most disappointed. These six Anglo-Indians had retired, and were deeply concerned about the poverty in the community, the lack of language skills which ended in unemployment, because Anglo-Indians were "dropping-out" of Anglo-Indian schools. They all commented on the missing middle-class structure in the Anglo-Indian community in 1990.

CITY: BOMBAY

STATE: MAHARASHTRA

DATES: 22 July, 26-28 July and 20-28 August

TOTAL: 29

75-88 Profile numbers 75-88 were a group of 13 Indians and 1 Anglo-Indian. There were 6 women and 8 men.

The Anglo-Indian was a Christian and the 12 Indians were Hindus. The group interview took place on 24 August on the Kalina campus of the University of Bombay, in a lecture theatre. They were well-informed, articulate and cosmopolitan in their outlook. Eight of these post graduate students in Political Science had attended Anglo-Indian schools where,

> ... we learnt English, and even took part in plays. Religion was never a hot issue in any of the schools, we just did our own things and this was a shame, because I think we could have learnt so much from one another. I think communal segregation starts in schools.

89 Anglo-Indian man 40-55 Christian Bombay 23 August

He was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school. He was in the middle of a crisis concerning the salary structure of the school staff, and he said,

> It is so difficult today to please everyone.

> I'm sure you recognise, that the Anglo-Indian schools are private, and we cannot raise our fees, so, where does one get the money?

90-95 Anglo-Indian and Indian 2 women 4 men 30-50 4 Christians and 2 Hindus Bombay 23 August

This group interview in an Anglo-Indian school was unsatisfactory, because the interview was dominated with the salary issue, with constant interruptions during the interview, which was held in the staff room.

96 Anglo-Indian man 60-70 Christian Bombay 29 July

He was a retired Colonel from the Indian Army. He was Anglo-Indian Member of the State Legislative Assembly. He was a writer of books on Indian military history, and contributed articles to many Indian dailies and magazines. He possessed a keen sense of humour and was well-liked and respected. The interview which took place in his home was one of the most successful during the field study.

97 East Indian woman 30-40 Christian Bombay 23 July

She was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school which was administered and owned by the Daughters of the Cross. She said,

> Secondary girls are free in this day-school, but in certain communities like the Anglo-Indians, higher education is not stressed. Ofcourse, Christianity can isolate, and also the British Rule associated Christianity with Imperialism. We use the Indian Bhajans (hymns) and Indian instruments with a harmonium, and have attempted to "Indianise Christianity."

98 East-Indian 2 women 50-60 Bombay 23 July

These two women were educated in the same Anglo-Indian school as the researcher. They both commented on the hierarchy of

> ... a colour consciousness, which isolated the Anglo-Indians from the Indian students. You were unusual for an Anglo-Indian, because you came to our homes and we came to your home. Try and name some Anglo-Indians who attended school with us who actually invited us over. That was the problem, the Anglo-Indian girls rarely mixed with non Anglo-Indians.

99 Goan man aged 60-70 Christian Bombay 23 July

He was the retired Jesuit Rector of a large parish in Bombay. He was a journalist of repute. He was a liberal

theologian. He said,

> Anglo-Indians cannot cope with the Indian languages, and many dropout at High School level. They are disinclined, lack ambition and say that the "past was always better." English does not get them jobs, but learning Hindi and the Regional Language will enable them to compete in the job market.

100 Goan man 40-50 Christian Bombay 26 July

He was the Jesuit Principal of an Anglo-Indian school. He was an intellectual. He made some extremely perceptive observations about the Anglo-Indian community. He said,

> Underachievement? Yes, I think they underachieve, and it is possibly because the significant Anglo-Indians are not in India, to offer a role model. After all people like yourself left the country! The Anglo-Indians in India are not in touch with the present, they belong to a "social old age", nostalgia, the hand out mentality syndrome persists, and they have become victims of their own volition.

This respondent was the only educationist who discussed the subject of accountability and appraisal. He was well aware that,

> ... evaluation, although, a well-established and accepted activity within education in the West, was treated with a mixture of hostility, scepticism and caution in Anglo-Indian schools.

101 East-Indian woman 50-60 Christian Bombay 28 July

She was a teacher in the same Jesuit Anglo-Indian school of which No.100 was the Principal. She said,

> The Anglo-Indian schools run by the Religious Orders are "cleric ridden". There should be opportunities given to the laity to become administrators. The schools wield influence, but there are no equal opportunities given to the laity, leave alone a woman teaching in a boys' school---she will never rise to Deputy Principal. Women teachers in Anglo-Indian schools which are owned by Religious Orders have not been treated as collaborators in education, unless of course they are members of the Religious Order!

102 Anglo-Indian man 50-60 Christian Bombay 25 July

He was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school. He said,

> Part-Freeships are offered according to earning ability. Anglo-Indians hardly come to this Anglo-Indian school. It can be a

> combination of lack of interest, poverty or poorly educated parents who have developed unfortunately an "inferiority complex" about expensive Anglo-Indian schools. There are eight excellent Anglo-Indian schools in Bombay, but Anglo-Indians do not approach these schools to get educated. Perhaps, it could be financial restrictions. I am unable to understand why they do not come. Perhaps Wirth was right when he said that we live for different and unequal treatment and therefore we regard ourselves as objects of collective discrimination. I really do not know the answer. I think we should all try and stop quarrelling with one another and find safety in numbers. You know we are split from the top to the bottom, or if you like sideways, in any case, we are fragmented as a community in India. Do you know what we could do about it? You'll meet enough of us to find out some answers.

103 Goan woman 50-60 Christian Bombay 22 July

She was multilingual and spoke English, Hindi, Marathi, Gujerati and French. She was the Superior of a Convent in Gujerat belonging to the Religious Order, Daughters of the Heart of Mary. She had attended an Anglo-Indian school from kindergarten to Class X, and had experienced the intense Language Debate in Anglo-Indian education during the Fifties. She said,

> English is a drawback, and Christians are viewed as foreigners. There is a distinction between the Anglo-Indian and the Indian Christian. The Anglo-Indians are a closed community and have little contact with other Christians. They are an isolated, urban Christian community.

CITY: **CALCUTTA**

STATE: **WEST BENGAL**

DATES: **9-10 August and** **13-14 August**

TOTAL: **66**

104 Anglo-Indian girl Christian 16 Calcutta 9 August

She was studying shorthand-typing. She did not possess any Secondary School Leaving Certificate. She belonged

to a one-parent family. Her mother was a seamstress. She had a British surname.

105 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was studying shorthand-typing. Both parents were living in a Railway Colony in West Bengal. Unable to write in an Indian language. She spoke fluent English but could not write English very well.

106 Anglo-Indian girl 16 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was studying shorthand-typing, telephone and telex operating and computing. She could not write in an Indian language. Both parents lived in Orissa State but were unemployed.

107 Anglo-Indian girl 16 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was an excellent typist and could write in English and Hindi. She had no Secondary School Leaving Certificate, because she had dropped out of school and had worked in a shop. She enjoyed discussing books and listened to music.

108 Anglo-Indian woman 35 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was educated in Kalimpong. Spoke English and Nepali, and worked as a servant in a Bengali family's home. Her father was an Englishman. She said, "I am still waiting for him to come and take me to England."

109 Anglo-Indian girl 11 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was barely literate in English. She came from a broken-family background. Her teacher described her:

> She is always running out of class and wandering around in the school grounds. She does not want to study. She is very disturbed. However, the girl will draw a few pictures during the interview for you. She likes to draw and we often find her expressing herself through her drawings.

110 Anglo-Indian girl 6 Christian Calcutta 9 August

Her father was unemployed. She was studying shorthand -typing, telex and telephone operating. She was unable to write in an Indian Language. Her English was very limited. She spoke English laced with Bengali words.

111 Anglo-Indian girl 13 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was unable to spell. This is an example of her written work in English:

> M age is threen. My subjeck is Englisk and Mathii. My bad subjeat is reeding. I like to do drawis to my spead tine. I ame and anglooinndia.

112 Anglo-Indian girl 12 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She could not write in English. She was also unable to speak Hindi or any of the Indian languages. This is an example of her written work in English:

> I come to stuides mathas. My lav is English.

113 Anglo-Indian girl 17 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was literate in English. She could write four words in Hindi which amounted to "My name is ----". She was hoping to learn shorthand and typing. Her home town was in Kharagpur which is a large railway junction in West Bengal.

114 Anglo-Indian girl 11 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She could not write English:

> My best subisy is Englihs. My bat subisy is sums. I am a Angloindiana. My hometown is Allbbad. (Allahabad)

115 Anglo-Indian girl 13 Muslim Calcutta 9 August

Her Anglo-Indian father had died and her mother had remarried. She had converted to Islam. She lived in Dhanbad. She had kept her Anglo-Indian surname, which was British. She could read and write in English, and her Hindi was fluent. She wanted to become a typist or a hairdresser. She was the one exception among the Anglo-Indian respondents who was not a Christian.

116 Anglo-Indian woman 19 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She could not write English. She was a dropout at the age of 11 from an Anglo-Indian school, and had returned to school at 13 because "there's too many problems". Here is an example of her written work in English:

> My best scubjet is English, I come to Calcutta to study slort comprster (shorthand and computers).

Her father was born in England.

117 Anglo-Indian girl 14 Christian Calcutta 9 August

Her home town was in Asansol, and she could read, write and speak in English and Hindi. She had an English surname; although she did state that sometimes she goes as "Singe" (Singh which is surname used by members of the Sikh community), because it depended "on the company". Her father worked in the railway.

118 Anglo-Indian woman 17 Christian Calcutta 9 August

Her hometown was in Jamshedpur. Here is an example of her written work in English:

> My best subejet is Englih, my bade sec. maths, and I am an Anglo-Indiantyping.

She had a British surname.

119 Anglo-Indian woman 18 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She had a Portuguese surname. She could not write English.

> I have no bed subject, in my spes time I boo drwoing. My mather's name was Englis.

120 Anglo-Indian girl 13 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was an orphan. She could not read or write an Indian language. She had been looked after by her grandmother in Kharagpur, before coming to the residential school in Calcutta.

121 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 9 August

The only Anglo-Indian girl in the school who was a fluent English and Bengali speaker. She was unhappy learning shorthand, and felt that she could do much better for herself, but she stated,

> I came to study here to help my brother and sister, because when I get a job, I will be able to send money home to them. I dropped out of school because I failed Hindi when I was 14. I was useless at Hindi. I really don't know why I could not study it. I learnt Bengali instead of Hindi. I think it had to do with the teacher who taught me Bengali. She often taught us geography in Bengali, and I picked it up quite easily.

122 Anglo-Indian woman 19 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was the most intelligent and articulate Anglo-Indian girl in the school. She liked to read and said, "Worst

subject---none. I like to study. But, I had family problems, and so I have to work as a domestic, on a part-time basis. But, when I have finished this shorthand-typing course I will work in an office. Both my parents are Anglo-Indians, and my grandfather was a missionary who was born in Glasgow." She wrote a witty adaptation of a poem by Jarrell which reflected her situation. It was unfortunate that she had to work as a servant, because of her family situation, but she was determined to work in an office, "and learn Bengali and Hindi". No. 122 was another "Language Casualty" of the Anglo-Indian school system.

123 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was fluent in English, but had never

> ... understood any Bengali, so, I just failed my classes. My teachers always put me in the back of the class. I think I'm a hopeless case. My brothers also left school before they reached Class 10. They had failed so many times in the school. They just could not learn Bengali or Hindi.

She was also learning shorthand and typing.

124 Anglo-Indian woman 18 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She remembered her grandmother who was an English missionary. Her father worked on the railway. and she came to the residential school because she, "could not manage Class 10 and failed".

125 Anglo-Indian girl 14 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She could not write English.

> My eag is 13, I came to ---for study shorthand and telephone compputter. My best subect is jumping, is my bad subect I not like praying. In spay time I do my dariying (diary).

126 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She had lived in Kharagpur, and her father worked in the railway. She could not write or speak an Indian language, and said,

> I found my Hindi very difficult and there was a lot of house problems.

127 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She could not write English very well, but could speak it

quite fluently.

> My best subject is civis, I come from Orissa (Cuttack) and my foather work is as a ticket collect. i come here to get a job.

128-151 24 Anglo-Indian girls aged 9 to 12. They were all Christians and were interviewed on 9 August.

These 24 girls found it difficult to write down their answers in English, and preferred verbal answers. Only two of these girls could sing a song in Bengali. None of these girls were interested in discussing any other religion except Christianity. They all stated that they "believed in Jesus Christ and that was very important".

152 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Calcutta 14 August

He was most concerned about the threat of dropping English in the schools. According to this respondent the community has not progressed because politics had affected the community.

153 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 Christian Calcutta 10 August

She did admit that the schools are willing to help

> ... the children with fees, books and uniforms, but the Anglo-Indians do not want to go to the schools. I think they do find it rather difficult to keep up appearances, and can sometimes only find the extra money for just one child. It is difficult to go to the schools when you live in a slum in the same city. It's a vicious circle. The schools have made little or no effort to understand the plight of the Anglo-Indian community in Calcutta.

She was a member of the Salesian Religious Order and was given financial assistance by the Bishop to open a kindergarten and a creche in a slum area. The order frowned on her initiative and offered her assistance by sending her a retired nun to help her. She had given employment to Anglo-Indian women who assisted her in running the creche and the kindergarten school.

154 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Calcutta 14 August

He was interviewed in an Anglo-Indian school in Calcutta. He stated that the Anglo-Indian Associations do try to make a contribution to the community, but

> ... these bodies could do more (qualitatively) if there were qualified personnel in them. What I mean is that the

funds are insufficient to meet the demand.

155 Anglo-Indian woman 50-60 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was a teacher and stated that,

> ... the language and heavy academic bias has been a barrier for the Anglo-Indian child. Let's face facts, many of them live in squalid accommodation, where there are no opportunities to study. The Anglo-Indian slum child must be offered the opportunity to attend a residential school. It is up to us to fight for this right for educating our children.

156 Anglo-Indian woman 60-70 Christian Calcutta 14 August

She was a teacher and stated that the Anglo-Indian Associations in India made a

> ... very marginal effort in helping the educate the Anglo-Indians. They are just to busy fighting among themselves to really think about education. All they are thinking of is more power for themselves.

157 Anglo-Indian man 50-60 Christian Calcutta 14 August

He was an Anglo-Indian politician who was a Member of the State Legislative Assembly in Calcutta. He was a member of the powerful in-group of Anglo-Indians, who had held power since 1947. He said,

> The State policies in some places have affected the schools, but more so, it is the policies of many schools which have contributed to underachievement.

158 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Calcutta 14 August

He was a Principal of an elitist Anglo-Indian school. The group interview of educationists took place in this school. He agreed that the "backward tag" had to be taken seriously, and that language and religion was an important issue in Anglo-Indian schools. He also stated that the educational policies in India had not contributed towards the underachievement of Anglo-Indians, but this did not apply to the policies of the Anglo-Indian schools, which he felt had contributed to the underachievement of Anglo-Indians.

159 Anglo-Indian man 40-60 Christian Calcutta 14 August

He was a teacher, and stated that the

> ... present Anglo-Indian school system is geared to their (Anglo-Indian) advantage, but unfortunately Anglo-Indians fail in the schools. They fail because we have ignored the issue of language. We are satisfied with the results of the non Anglo-Indians. It is very necessary to discuss the number issue in the community, because this is contentious. We do not always acknowledge our own. I would like to know what conclusion you will draw from the answers to the question.

160 Anglo-Indian woman 50-60 Christian Calcutta 14 August

She was a voluntary social worker in the community, and stated that the educational policies in the schools

> ... with its accent on economic status, make the Anglo-Indians appear to be under-achievers, because they are poor. I think they are poor because they have no qualifications, simply because they fail the Indian languages in the schools and drop out of school. I am glad someone has thought of asking these questions and finding out why Anglo-Indians fail in our own schools and what can be done about it!

161 Irish woman 50-60 Christian Calcutta 13 August

She was a member of the Loreto Order of nuns. She was a qualified teacher, and stated that the issue of language and religion was a very important one to consider for the community, because

> ... they fail in the Indian languages, and religious education has to be completed outside school hours. Therefore, they are being deprived of two areas in the curriculum which would enable them to integrate with Indian society. We have not thought this one through for a long time now, simply because it is a very sensitive issue. I await your results.

162 Irish woman 60-70 Christian Calcutta 14 August

She was a teacher and a member of the Loreto Order of nuns. She stated that the schools had made provision for the poor Anglo-Indians, and that many poor families receive "freeships" in the Anglo-Indian schools run by the Order. She did agree however, that the community faced a

> ... shortage of professionals, and they are always wanting to leave India. I really think they must make a commitment, just like I suppose I have made a decision to live and work in India until the end of my life. I think the community feels extremely insecure.

I cannot say why.

163 English woman 50-60 Christian Calcutta 9 August

She was a Loreto nun and the Principal of a school. She was deeply interested in alleviating poverty in the community through education. She did feel that

> ... education was necessary, but with poverty staring you in the face, education is not the main issue with many of the families. It is to keep body and soul together.

164 Anglo-Indian woman 20 Christian Calcutta 13 August

She lived in a slum in Thilljallah. She was unemployed and had dropped out of school when she was 14 years old. She did domestic work occasionally.

165 Anglo-Indian woman 40-50 Christian Calcutta 13 August

She lived in a slum in Thilljallah. She had attended a "hill school" for a few years. The family had lost money due to bad debts. She was articulate and resentful. She said,

> Why are you asking me about education, when I don't know where my next meal is coming from? Do the associations care about me? No, they don't.

She was in a very depressed frame of mind.

166 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 Christian Calcutta 13 August

She worked as a part-time typist in a firm in Calcutta. She said,

> Even with a small job it is so difficult to save any money. Ofcourse, I never lived in a place like this as a child, but I am forced to do so now.

167 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Calcutta 13 August

He had dropped out of school at the age of 15, and was unemployed. He was very depressed about his life, and regretted that he "fooled around, and wasted time." He also failed the Indian languages, and therefore was forced to "repeat some classes".

168 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Calcutta 13 August

He worked in a garage, and was the only person in the slum who attended evening classes run by the local church

to improve his skills as a mechanic.

169 Anglo-Indian girl 14 Christian Calcutta 13 August

She was very reluctant to answer any questions, and could not write any sentences in an Indian language. She appeared to be very withdrawn.

CITY: **COCHIN**

STATE: **KERALA**

DATE: **29 July**

TOTAL: **33**

The 33 respondents had travelled from different parts of Kerala State to attend the interview in Perumanoor, Cochin. The interview took place in an Anglo-Indian school in Perumanoor, Cochin. The respondents were the elected representatives of the various sub-groups of the South-Indian Anglo-Indian Association.

170 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 Christian Cochin 29 July

She said,

> The members of the community are proud of their identity as Anglo-Indians, but there are some who do not want us classified as Anglo-Indians.

171 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He said,

> The Association in Kerala has done a fantastic job to educate the Anglo-Indian community.

172 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He said,

> The politics in the various states had affected the progress of the community. We have not achieved solidarity, although we are such a small community in India. There is

too much of in-fighting between the associations.

173 Anglo-Indian man 50-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He was the acknowledged political leader of the out-group, which had its headquarters in Perumanoor, Cochin. He made all the arrangements for the group interview. He was articulate, intelligent, well-respected and liked by the community. He was deeply concerned about the "future of the community and its schools in India." He held the opinion that the community was backward, and needed help from the government for reservation of seats in Higher Education and reservation of jobs in government service.

174 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Cochin 29 July

He was a surgeon, whose wealthy family had made a major contribution to building an Anglo-Indian school. He voiced his concern about the "discrimination towards the Community" in Kerala by the major All-India Anglo-Indian Association.

175 Anglo-Indian woman 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

She said,

> The service of the various Associations should be extended to the rural areas.

176 Anglo-Indian woman 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

She talked about unemployment. She said,

> The school should have vocational and technical training. The Anglo-Indians have very few marketable skills. At least, if there was a policy to introduce a good, validated vocational certificate in the schools, then we will have less poverty. What is the use of speaking English when you are hungry, you might not be understood, because it is better to speak an Indian language, that way, you won't starve.

177 Anglo-Indian woman 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

She was politically aware and made the following statement.

> We do not have enough leaders who are interested in fighting for the rights of Anglo-Indians in Kerala. I actually mean leaders in Delhi, who are representing the community. There are no women leaders. Why

not?

178 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He said,

> The Anglo-Indian Associations run some of the Anglo-Indian schools. It is unfair to elect someone as a representative of the community who cannot speak English. If, they cannot speak English they could not possibly be Anglo-Indian. But this has happened, and we must fight it.

179 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He stated that some of the problems of the Anglo-Indian community can be traced to prejudice within the community for one another.

180 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He stated that Anglo-Indians have managed to retain their distinctive

> ... culture and traditions, and one knows who the Anglo-Indians are in Kerala. You just have to visit our homes, and you will know you are in an Anglo-Indian home.

181 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He was aware of the lack of research into the community. He said,

> Nobody has bothered to actually go into the villages in Kerala and do a study of the Anglo-Indians and their needs. We still do not know the actual number of Anglo-Indians living in villages in Kerala. We are no longer an exclusive urban community.

182 Anglo-Indian man 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

He discussed the issue of educational backwardness. He said,

> The only path to survive, is to be declared educationally backward. Then, we might be able as a community all over India, to be able to secure places in Higher Education and Government jobs.

183-202 Anglo-Indian men 20-60 Christian Cochin 29 July

These were men who attended the group interview, but made no comments either written or verbal, although they were in general agreement with the comments, and lent their support to the community.

TOWN: COONOOR

STATE: TAMIL NADU

DATE: 2 August

TOTAL: 35

34 girls who were students in an Anglo-Indian school were interviewed. The woman Principal of the school was also interviewed.

203-236 Anglo-Indian 34 girls 15-19 Christian Coonoor 2 August

Only 4 girls were bilingual. They were anxious about passing the Indian language examination, but were failing to understand either Tamil or Hindi. 2 girls were very articulate and the interview was slightly restricted because it took place with the Principal present during the group interview.

237 Anglo-Indian woman 40-50 Christian Coonoor 2 August

She was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school. She was highly qualified, articulate and genuinely concerned about the educational achievement of Anglo-Indian girls. Her appointment reinforced the importance of women in the community to run their own schools.

TOWN: **DEVLALI**

STATE: **MAHARASHTRA**

DATE: **24-25 July**

TOTAL: **103**

238 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a gifted bilingual teacher, whose name was often mentioned by the groups of students. A man who thought and felt in Hindi, and who epitomised the Anglo-Indian of the nineties. He said,

> ... rich parents can use the independent schools like ours to buy an academic education tightly geared to achieving public examination results, and I think this is important for our school, but, my concern is for the Anglo-Indians, who must become fluent bilinguals in English and an Indian language. I therefore teach my subjects in Hindi and English.

239 Anglo-Indian woman 40-50 Christian Devlali 24 July

She was a housemistress and a teacher, who said,

> Not getting a University Degree does limit an Anglo-Indian, because only the Anglo-Indian schools will employ a Diploma holder. We need to get Teaching Degrees for ourselves. Diplomas are out and shouldn't be offered by the teaching colleges. Now, it is too late to get a degree. Anglo-Indian schools still accept Anglo-Anglo-Indians with teaching diplomas. This is okay, but the schools must insist that Anglo-Indian teachers get degrees during the course of their teaching. It's not doing the teachers any good. We need to be competitive.

240 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who said,

> Anglo-Indian teachers have to adopt innovations that deflect attention from academic work for Anglo-Indians, because Anglo-Indians who are on "freeships" tend to have very poor aspirations for Higher Education. You have to offer them something.

241 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was an unqualified teacher, who stated that

> ... not having the piece of paper, does not qualify me to teach anywhere else. I know that the Head wants me to qualify, but, I find it difficult to work and study. I think I should be offered an incentive, then like many others I would certainly find the time to do the degree. The schools are comfortable for us.

242 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who said that,

> The educational policies in the schools have contributed towards the underachievement of the Anglo-Indians, but let us face some facts, most of the Anglo-Indians particularly the boys are lazy, and are proud, especially at school level. We don't give them a push or are allowed to push them, that might show favouritism towards them! I also think we ourselves have stereotyped them, and they know it.

243 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who stated,

> I was given a grant to study for my B.A. However, why do people think that the Anglo-Indian community in India today is a "backward class", after all we have our schools, and I have studied, and I am a teacher.

His father was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school.

244 Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who discussed underachievement in detail and said,

> ... the education which is imparted is not job orientated. The Associations do make a contribution but not in all aspects of education, and politics has affected the community because of the caste system. We are known as outcastes. That's so many problems, make what you can of it.

245 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who stated,

> In our country which is linguistically divided the top guns look after their own and don't look to the general improvement of all. We have so many associations that are all fighting for power. It's silly and bloody awful.

246 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Devlali 24 July

He was a teacher who discussed the poverty in the community, and said,

> ... some of the Anglo-Indian families live below the poverty line, and this certainly affects their academic performance in the school. They do not have any ambitions. Non-achievement has so much to do with poverty.

247 Anglo-Indian boy 14 Christian Devlali 24 July

He wrote that he had been sent to the school to,

> ... learn to be self-relint, rough and tough, and we can do are work, on our selfs, become greater person in life we learn to respect our elders. I enjoy English Lit because we study about great poets like Shakespeeer and Miltin.

248 Indian girl 15 Hindu Devlali 24 July

She said,

> I think English is important because it helps us to get better jobs, helps us to speak with high society people, I think this school is wonderful, because there are lots of games and many other things. I do not want to change anything in the school.

249 Indian boy 16 Hindu Devlali 24 July

He said,

> I have come here to the school to learn English and to become a great man. It is also because in the world in all places all work is done in English. The only thing I'd like to change in this school is the food. But it is a small thing only.

250 Indian boy 13 Hindu Devlali 24 July

He was the student who referred to the parable of the Sower and the Seed.

> I think the story is such a clever one!

Jesus must have known who he was talking to!

251 Anglo-Indian boy 11 Christian Devlali 24 July

He said,

> God is always at a party, he must eat plenty of food. Only if you are rich or you are God, you will not be hungry.

252-316 Indian girls 8-15 Hindus and Muslims Devlali 24 July

They all commented on the "high standard" of the education. They all managed to describe their religious education classes. One of the girls who was more fluent in English than the others, articulated the opinion the group shared,

> I suppose we do talk about God, but, we are more often told to be good and obedient. Religion is more about being kind, tolerant and friendly. We don't have discussions about religions in the world.

All these Indian girls were bilingual in two Indian languages, that is, Marathi or Gujerati their mother tongues and Hindi. They understood English and could speak it slowly. They could read and write English quite fluently. One of the girls said,

> We all need to learn English, because in most countries you go to, they can talk English.

One Gujerati girl aged 11 said,

> My mother-tounge is Gujerati. I am Hindu, but I like Jesus Christ, and he dead for our sin. I like this school because we study many good manner. I want to only talk in English.

The group sang songs in English, Hindi, Marathi and Gujerati. They discussed God. They drew pictures during the interview to illustrate their answers. They read in English from text books. They were relaxed, friendly, chatty and informative. A few of them took the researcher on a guided tour of the girls' block in the residential quarters of the school.
One girl said,

> I am Rajasthani Muslim Sunni and I think English is important because most of the people in world speak English. If I became Headmistress of the school, first I will improve the food, then the WC they given us and then I will make it a multi religion school.

317 Anglo-Indian boy 8 Christian Devlali 24 July

This young bespectacled, serious young student was searching for roots on a nature ramble. See Appendix 3 for a photograph of this young boy on his nature-study ramble. He talked about the importance of roots for trees. He offered a very interesting discussion on good and bad roots. He said,

> I have to search for the roots. This plant is okay, it has good roots, but this one is going to die, it has very bad roots. The rain will not even help it. It will die most probably.

318-339 Anglo-Indians 22 boys 6-17 Christian Devlali 24 July

These 22 Anglo-Indian boys were interviewed in two separate groups. The larger group was aged 14-17. The majority of the younger Anglo-Indians were unable to speak in Hindi, although all of them could sing a Hindi pop song. They were well organised in their dormitory and settled down with enthusiasm to answer the questions. Only seven boys were bilingual in English and Hindi. They were aged 10-13. One fourteen year old boy was the soul of wit, he drew cartoons of the teachers, and said that,

> ... the food should change in this school. I know I'm free and shouldn't grumble, but, you asked me, and we should have less timings in school for games. It's boring. Most of the boys enjoyed watching videos, which are quite good for religious studies. They should have videos for learning Hindi. I am sure they'll be better than the teachers teaching us!

340 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Devlali 24 July

The Principal was well-liked and respected. He possessed tremendous self-confidence, and his reputation had spread into the town. The school was actually known as his school, that is, his surname was used to describe the school at the Railway Station. He was self-assured. His first question to the interviewer after the interview was completed was,

> Now, you tell me what is the worst thing you found about the school?

The researcher referred to the inadequate collection of library books. He agreed and mentioned that it was on his agenda to improve the collection of library books. He spoke about inadequate language skills.

> That is something that has been with us for such a long time, that we have become used to Anglo-Indians failing in the school. I have given much thought to it along with my

colleagues. I would be very interested in reading your findings. They are not unintelligent but they are educationally backward, and this is linked to the Indian language. A small minority attend this residential school. There is very poor application from Anglo-Indian students, and this is also due to the poor education of the parents, lack of interest and the big families. The majority of Anglo-Indians do not feel that it is necessary to be proficient in another languages, and job opportunities are open only for bilingual Anglo-Indians. This is linked to their underachievement.

CITY: **FARIDABAD**

STATE: **HARYANA**

DATE: **15 August**

TOTAL: **31**

341 Anglo-Indian woman 30-40 Christian Faridabad 15 August

She was well-educated and was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school. Her husband was the Administrator. They owned the Anglo-Indian school. It was interesting to note that although she possessed the necessary academic qualifications, her husband was the spokesman and letter-writer. She was the curriculum coordinator.

342-371 Anglo-Indians 20-60 23 men and 7 women Christian 15 August

The group "made an occasion" of the interview because it was Indian Independence Day and a public holiday. They belonged to an "out-group" and voiced their concern about the lack of good educational policies for Anglo-Indians in the schools and were aware of the need to be bilingual in India today.

TOWN: **KETTI**

STATE: **TAMIL NADU**

DATE: **1-2 August**

TOTAL: **103**

372 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Ketti 1 August

The Principal of the Anglo-Indian School and College. He knew children by their first name, and was well-liked and deeply respected. The Principal said,

> The need to learn English and an Indian language is the most important aspect of Anglo-Indian education, and we are somehow failing the Anglo-Indians, because they do not learn an Indian language. This school is expensive, because it is residential and private, but, the school was originally built for Anglo-Indians, and therefore I make an effort to bear the burden of the poor Anglo-Indian. However, Anglo-Indians want everything to be easy, and I think this is the reason why there is only one qualified Anglo-Indian who passes Class XII for every twenty who do not manage to complete Class XII. An Anglo-Indian Degree College should be started to encourage Anglo-Indians to compete, and to continue their education.

373 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Ketti 1 August

He was the Headteacher of the Anglo-Indian School and College. His partnership with the Principal was excellent, and since his main responsibility was the development of the curriculum of the school he was interested in the language and religious issues which were raised in the interview. He was a very supportive person, friendly and outgoing. This partnership between Nos. 372 and 373 relied on collaboration and mutual respect of a very high order.

374 Anglo-Indian boy 8 Christian Ketti 2 August

This young student had a natural ability for art. When asked about God, he drew the Principal (No. 372) of the school. When asked 'why' he chose to do so, he said,

> Because God is a friend and so is Mr.-------. He has time for us, he knows our names and makes sure we get proper food.

He had problems writing Hindi. He could recite rather well, and was a popular student.

375 Anglo-Indian boy 9 Christian Ketti 2 August

He struggled with learning to write English. He wrote,

> My adge is 9, and my nice subyject is Matts, my warst subgects is none, and my nice game is crow and the eggs. I would become a man, in the aramey and fith for owr countery.

He admitted later that someone wrote the Hindi sentences on his paper.

376-390 Anglo-Indians 15 boys 9-11 Christian Ketti 2 August

None of these Anglo-Indian boys were bilingual. Two of them were remedial students, who lacked confidence. "I always copy all my work from him". They all enjoyed discussing religion, and were surprised that the researcher wanted to hear their opinions. One boy drew God at a party because,

> God can never be hungry. This is the first time anyone asked me the question. Even our teacher doesn't want to know what we think about God. We just gotta believe.

391 Anglo-Indian boy 9-11 Christian Ketti 2 August

This boy was a gifted impressionist. His crayon sketch of the eucalyptus trees bordering the school to show "what pleases me most" was excellent. He sat separately from the rest of the class, because he was called the "mustiwallah" (naughty boy) in the class. However, when he was praised for his sketch, he rapidly sketched another one of the classroom. He had an eye for detail and the caricature sketches, (incidentally drawn with "borrowed crayons and paper") displayed a talent which was rather original. However, none of his drawings were displayed in the classroom, He said this was because,

> ... teacher thinks I'm always making fun, because everyone laughs at my drawings, and then she throws them away.

He came from a broken home and lived in a slum in Bangalore. This 9 year old Anglo-Indian boy possessed a buoyancy and light-heartedness, which surfaced in his sketches but which was overlooked by his teacher.

392-432 Anglo-Indians 41 girls 9-16 Christian Ketti 2 August

These girls were not bilingual. Some of them struggled

with writing English. A 13 year old Anglo-Indian girl wrote this description of herself.

> My nice subjet is English. I like moosic, and my not nice subjet is Greorghy (geography). I came because I hate my old school. (From here onwards the words are not separated) Nomoneealltimeshoot (No money all time shout) crialltim. (cry all the time). jobnodad (Dad had no job) Imusbedokkter. (I must become a doctor).

Some of the girls were totally disinterested, and only showed an interest when they were invited to join the group photograph. They did complete their "paper work", and handed the sheets in much later. They apologised for being disinterested.

> Sorry, but we were fed up with writing and doing school work. But we've completed the work for you.

They had made one set of comments and had neatly copied it out eight times.

<u>433-450 Anglo-Indians 18 boys 14-16 Christian Ketti 2 August</u>

None of these boys were bilingual. This group interview was held very late in the evening. It was completed very quickly, because the group was very tired. They did however, bring their exercise books and folders to the interview.

<u>451-474 Anglo-Indians 14 men and 10 women 20-70 Christian Ketti 2 August</u>

This group of Anglo-Indians were well-informed, articulate and genuinely concerned about the drop-outs in the community. One Anglo-Indian spoke of his own experience in an Anglo-Indian school.

> I was terrified of the second language. It was pretty awful, failing so many times. And the tuition for the second language was very expensive.

An Anglo-Indian woman said,

> Religion is the strong base of our lives, and Christmas and Easter are highlighted, and we prefer to send our children to a Christian school.

The group were aware of the low achievement levels in the community. One man said,

> I am sure Anglo-Indians abroad who hear of the poverty in the community must be very

> concerned. We must help ourselves. But, where do we start? We need some help for the future of Anglo-Indian education.

Language was the hot-bed of discontent and one woman stated,

> Only one period of 45 minutes is the duration of the second language class, and the student does have difficulty in thoroughly learning the language. A non Anglo-Indian child has enough opportunity as all other subjects are taught in English. This could be a reason for the Anglo-Indian to underachieve.

The group linked poverty in the community to education, but they stated that they,

> ... were totally against any more hand outs, because we have had enough, and we must learn to survive without them. But how?

The group also questioned the problem of the identity crisis and were concerned that they were unable to

> ... count our numbers correctly, without fighting among ourselves. We are actually fighting about who is an Anglo-Indian? This does not happen with any other community except us. We must put away our prejudices and racism and learn to pull together.

CITY: **MADRAS**

STATE: **TAMIL NADU**

DATE: **6-8 August**

TOTAL: **35**

<u>475-487 Anglo-Indians women 25-55 Christian Madras 8 August</u>

There were two interviews conducted with these Anglo-Indian women teachers in an Anglo-Indian school. The first interview lasted 1 and a 1/2 hours with the Principal. This was followed by a group interview with the rest of the Anglo-Indian women teachers. The teachers were released from their lessons. They were covered for over two hours, while the interview was conducted.

The Principal produced answers which accorded both with the sentiments of the conventional wisdom of educational literature and with the official statements of the school's aims and objectives. This was an interview which took place in the 'educationist' context and she answered the questions by identifying the structures of the school which supported them. Her responses about educational disadvantage reflected a pupil-centred perspective rather than a child-centred one.

The group interview with her staff was the most difficult and longest (over two hours) group interview conducted during the field study. It offered an opportunity to explore the personal interests of these Anglo-Indian women teachers which included autonomy, status, territory and rewards.

The political interests of these teachers were combined with their own professional interests of curriculum, pedagogy and certain macro or party-political policies. It provided revelations about micropolitics within the staff room. There was ample evidence to support the ambiguous relationship between personal and political interests of these 12 Anglo-Indian women teachers.

488-504 Anglo-Indians 8 boys and 9 girls 13-16 Christian Madras 8 August

This group interview was also unsatisfactory, because it was very "rushed", and had to be conducted in the shortest time possible time of forty-five minutes. This Anglo-Indian school operated a morning and afternoon system for the secondary and primary sections. The students did their best, but the girls were worried about being late to go home to prepare meals. The boys wanted to attend some extra curricular sporting activities.

It provided the researcher with evidence that there was no guarantee of equality of access to extra-curricular activities. The girls followed the same curriculum as the boys, but it did not enable them to alter the course of their lives. What emerged from this school was the implicit understanding that the world is a man's world, in which women can and should take second place.

505 Indian man 50-60 Christian Madras 7 August

He was the Principal of the Anglo-Indian school for the students 593-611. He said,

> Although Anglo-Indians only pay Rs.20 towards their fees of Rs.100, they are still unable to produce good results. There is caste system among Anglo-Indians, even though many of them deny this. I am unaware of girls

> being placed on the margins of extra-curricular activities.

He was dismayed about the consequences this had for the girls evolving images of the worth and capability of the sexes. However, he appeared to be disinterested in problems of gender equality.

506-508 Anglo-Indians 1 woman and 2 men Christian Madras 7 August

There was a very disappointing turnout for this interview. It had rained continuously during the day and many roads were flooded. Out of fifteen people invited to the group interview only three people attended the interview. The three Anglo-Indians who were interviewed were very concerned about the poverty, unemployment and the lack of marketable skills in Anglo-Indians.

509 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Madras Date: 6 August

He was a politician and an educationist. He considered the community to be a backward community, although he said,

> Many Anglo-Indians psychologically think they are members of a forward community in India. The facts however tell another tale. The community is poor and ill-educated, with few skills to compete with the Indians. There needs to be an overhaul of educational policies in Anglo-Indian schools if we hope to survive in the future.

CITY: NEW DELHI

STATE: UNION TERRITORY OF DELHI

DATE: 15-19 August

TOTAL: 76

510-529 Indian men 30-60 Hindu New Delhi 17 August

These men were educationists. They were interviewed in one group. They were uninterested in the Anglo-Indian community, whom they felt had

> ... isolated themselves quite deliberately, and feel superior to other Indians.

530-548 Anglo-Indians 18 men and 1 woman 20-60 Christian New Delhi. 18 August

This was a very successful meeting because they were well informed, articulate and committed to alleviating poverty in the community. They were all members of an out-group of Anglo-Indians who disagreed with the policies of the in-group of Anglo-Indians.

549 Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian New Delhi 15 August

He was the leader of the out-group (nos. 127-148) and was politically ambitious, astute and articulate. He was an educationist. He had spent a part of his schooling in England. He was bilingual in English and Hindi. He was a deeply committed Anglo-Indian, and spent most of his spare time involved in social service activities.

550. Anglo-Indian man 80-85 Christian New Delhi 16 August

The charismatic, impressive leader of the powerful in-group, of the community. A barrister by profession, he was undoubtedly an articulate and astute politician. His comments revealed a sharp intelligence which was matched with an excellent knowledge of the law. His witty comments, showed that he had "not lost touch with the community", and, he viewed the out-groups of Anglo-Indians as evidence that the community was alive and thriving. He stated,

> I have been accused of being authoritarian and arrogant. I am neither. I am in authority which merely means that the authority belongs to the office I hold. It does not set me as a person above anyone else. We have been challenged, but our challengers have been unsuccessful.

The first-person plural pronoun 'we' was mostly used. Closer analysis of the taped conversation revealed the 'we' as being an in-group of partners who mutually understood one another, that is, members of the powerful All-India Anglo-Indian Association.

551-581 Indians 25-60 8 women and 23 men Hindus and Muslims New Delhi 17 August

These two group interviews were difficult but were very informative. At first the "courtesy bias" was evident, with these well-educated Indian men and women who politely "dodged the questions", so to speak. When the

researcher asked them to "please forget I am an Anglo-Indian woman"; the interview became more honest and forthright. These two group interviews were the most informative interviews from non Anglo-Indians.

What is perhaps most unusual about these interviews is the fact that these Indian educationists were given an opportunity by an Anglo-Indian to discuss the elitist educational system for Anglo-Indians. An Indian Doctor of Education stated,

> The system produces English-educated Indians who enter Indian Universities. But there are very few English-educated Anglo-Indians in Indian Universities. The system penalises Anglo-Indians. Something has gone wrong with Anglo-Indian schools.

582 Anglo-Indian man 50-60 Christian New Delhi 17 August

He was a high-ranking Air Force Officer, with proven qualities of leadership and bravery. He was one of India's most decorated heroes. He was a member of the out-group of Anglo-Indians (leader: No.549). He was shrewd, well-informed, assertive and flamboyantly self-confident.

583 Indian woman 40-50 Hindu New Delhi 17 August

She was a social scientist and well-informed about the rights of minority women. She said,

> Although, Anglo-Indian women were very dynamic, there has been no Anglo-Indian woman leader. I daresay, it is because the older leaders who are men, are unwilling to relinquish their role in favour of women. I am aware that the community has some excellent women, who can become Members of Parliament, but unfortunately, this has not happened. It is a pity, because there should be one woman M.P. and one man M.P.

She also commented on the cultural attitudes which were reflected in the educational ambitions of Anglo-Indian women.

> Very few of them become doctors, lawyers or other professionals. They are only interested in becoming secretaries or receptionists. This interests me, because their schools are excellent ones in India. It might be a "hidden policy" in the school system, which does not encourage women to seek Higher Education. Perhaps, you might be able to unearth it, in your research. I'd be very interested in your results.

584 Indian woman 40-50 Hindu New Delhi 17 August

She was a journalist. She was articulate and vivacious. She said,

> I did not meet any Anglo-Indian women at University. I was educated in an Anglo-Indian school, and neither the boys or the girls appear interested in Higher Education and acquiring professional status jobs. I found it difficult to make friends with Anglo-Indians.

585 Anglo-Indian man 50-60 Christian New Delhi 17 August

He was an enthusiastic, well-informed person, who was keen to improve the educational chances of Anglo-Indians. He was an experienced politician, who belonged to an out-group association which had its headquarters in Bangalore. His appointment as Member of Parliament in New Delhi was made during a period of political unrest. He was very much aware that the appointment was temporary.

CITY: **SHILLONG**

STATE: **MEGHALAYA**

DATE: **11-12 August**

TOTAL: **43**

586 Khasi Anglo-Indian man 20-30 Christian Shillong 11 August

He was a member of a Scheduled Tribe. He said,

> I do not say that the educational policies in India have contributed towards the underachievement of the Anglo-Indians, but imposition (respondent's underline) of an Indian language does. I have one mother tongue which is Khasi and English.

587 Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Shillong 11 August

He was a man with excellent leadership qualities, and was

responsible for bringing the group together for the interview. He said,

> In language and religion, the politics in the various states have affected the progress of the community.

He was a teacher and bilingual in English and Khasi.

588 Khasi Anglo-Indian woman 20-30 Christian Shillong 11 August

She wrote three family names for herself in the evaluation report. The first name was her married name which was Anglo-Indian, the second and third names written in brackets were English and Khasi. The group interview took place in her home. She did not feel that any of the policies in Meghalaya had affected her education.

589 Khasi Anglo-Indian man 35-45 Christian Shillong 11 August

He was articulate and well-educated. In his comment about Anglo-Indian educational policies he said,

> School education has been enriched by Anglo-Indian teachers, but there is no proper planing for Anglo-Indian education. Some of the Anglo-Indian organisations are organised enough to give grants, but there is no planning for the future. We are Anglo-Indians, but being Khasi and Christian, we have all the benefits of good education.

590 Khasi Anglo-Indian man 30-40 Christian Shillong 11 August

He found the discussion about educational backwardness, the size of the community and the language issues extremely important for the community in India. He was concerned and voiced an anxiety about whether one should look at oneself, "as more English or Indian."

591 Armenian woman 40-50 Christian Shillong 11 August

She was the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school which she and her husband jointly owned. She was astute, business-like and well-informed. She was concerned about why Anglo-Indians were,

> ... left without statehood or regional identities at Independence, and the language issues was partially (very partially) responsible for the underachievement in the Anglo-Indian community.

She was a dynamic, ambitious woman, who had a vision of Anglo-Indian education in Meghalaya.

592 Mizo Anglo-Indian man 40-50 Christian Shillong 11 August

He was the husband of the Principal of an Anglo-Indian school in Shillong. He was a child-centred teacher who had a subjective understanding of school life that was made manifest in words and gestures while he escorted the researcher around the school. He and his wife had two different management approaches and this suited the type of school they owned. The two issues of language and religion were extremely important for Anglo-Indians, and he stated that it was the first time anyone had raised the issues in an interview. He was a man who had a vision of Anglo-Indian education in the future.

593 Khasi woman 30-40 Christian Shillong 11 August

She was a consultant gynaecologist, who had been educated in an Anglo-Indian school.

> I know some people who are Khasi, but who also trace their descent from Methodist missionaries who came to India from Scotland. So, they are Anglo-Indian, but they go as Scheduled Tribe. I think it is much better for the community if they accept the backward label, and get help from the government for places in University and government service.

594 Goan man 40-50 Christian Shillong 11 August

He was a teacher, and belonged to the Salesian Religious Order. He said,

> All Anglo-Indians who become Scheduled Tribe are bilingual in Khasi and English. In fact their mother tongue is actually a combination of two languages, because they speak Khasi and English as one language. This is interesting from a linguist's point of view. I think other Anglo-Indians would benefit from learning from this community of Anglo-Indians. They speak three languages, the first two, that is, Khasi and English as one and Hindi is officially their second language. They are successful people. I believe in positive discrimination in favour of a minority community. It works here, so why shouldn't it work elsewhere?

595-628 Khasi women 17-20 Christian Shillong 11 August

They were all bilingual in Khasi and English, and were

continuing their education. The subjects they were studying were Khasi, Education, Political Science, History, English and Modern English Languages. None of the women had selected a Science subject. They were ambitious and articulate. They stated that they would like to become teachers, magistrates and lecturers.

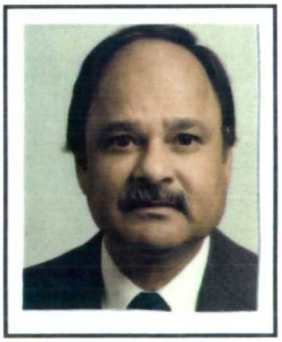
They felt that as tribeswomen, the policy of positive discrimination had enabled them to become educated and competitive. All these women were bilingual in Khasi and English. Three of them also spoke Jaintia, and were interested in becoming missionaries, and "take Christ to the people." Nine of them had Christian names and the rest had exotic names like "Beautiful", and "Easter Star". Their parents were agriculturists. One young woman did mention that it would have been most interesting to study farming and agriculture, because her family had always worked on their own farm.

APPENDIX 2

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF ANGLO-INDIANS WHO SHOWED AN INTEREST IN THIS RESEARCH

CORNELIUS KEITH MELVILLE

1. Keith was born in Calcutta. He is a British citizen. He lives in Surrey with his wife and two sons. He is a Chartered Accountant. Keith is the Honourary Auditor for the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association. SP



D'COSTA REX

2. Rex was born in Bellary, Hyderabad. He is a citizen of the United States of America. He is the General Secretary of the Anglo-Indian Association of the United States of America.

3. **D'ROZARIO ERROL:** Errol was born in Calcutta. He is an Australian citizen. He is the President of the Australian Anglo-Indian Association Inc.

EVANS GENEVIEVE

4. Genevieve was born in Bankipore, Patna. She is a British citizen. She is a Founder Member and General Secretary of the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association.

EVANS RANDOLPH

5. Randolph was born in Jhansi. He is a British citizen. Randolph is a Founder Member and a member of the Management Committee of the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association.

FERNANDEZ JOSEPH ALOYSIUS

6. Joss was born in India . He is an Indian citizen. He was a Member of Parliament from May 1990 to March 1991. He is the President of the Anglo-Indian Guild in Bangalore.

GOMES WILLIAM HENRY

7. Billy was born in Dhanbad and is now a British citizen. He is a Founder Member and the Catering Secretary for the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association.

GREENE DENIS

8. Denis was born in Dhanbad and is now a British citizen. He is a Founder Member and Chairman of the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association.

KEELOR DENZIL

9. Denzil was born in India and is an Indian citizen. He is a decorated hero in the Indian Air Force and is the Advisor to the Ministry of Civil Aviation. He is a member of the Anglo-Indian Development Association.

O'BRIEN NEIL

10. Neil was born in India and is an Indian citizen. He is a Member of the Legislative Assembly West Bengal and is deeply committed to Anglo-Indian education and serves on a number of Management Boards of schools and colleges. He writes for The Telegraph, Anandamela and The All-India Anglo-Indian Review.

PADUA STEPHEN

11. Stephen was born in India and is an Indian citizen. He is President-in-Chief of the Union of Anglo-Indian Associations. He is a committed educationist and serves on a number of Management Boards of schools and colleges.

PAYNE WITHBERT

12. Bert was born in Calcutta and is now a citizen of the United States of America. He is President of Starcare International and is a Chartered Accountant by profession. He is deeply committed to the Anglo-Indian community and has compiled an extensive bibliography on Anglo-Indians. He helped to sponsor this research with financial assistance. He is a member of the Anglo-Indian Association of the United States of America.

PAYNE ROSEMARY

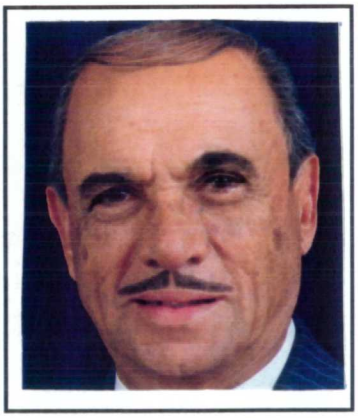
13. Rosemary was born in India and is now a citizen of the United States of America. She compiled, along with her husband, an extensive bibliography on Anglo-Indians. The bibliography was consulted for this research. Rosemary is a member of the Anglo-Indian Association of the United States of America.

PETERS BRIAN

14. Brian was born in India and is an Indian citizen. He lives in England and is President of the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association. He is a West End impresario, with business interests which extend from pubs to the Astoria Theatre.

REBEIRO SYDNEY

15. Sydney was born in India and is an Indian citizen. He is the President of the YMCA and is the Founder President of the Anglo-Indian Development Association.



RICHARDS WILLIAM

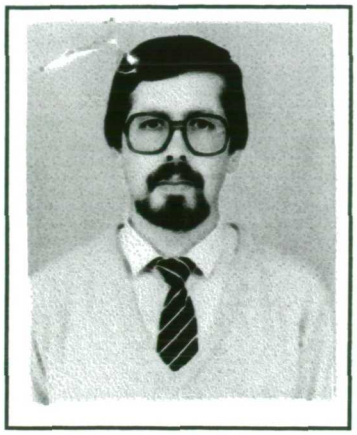
16. Bill was born in the Kolar Gold Fields and is an Indian citizen. He was Chief Engineer of the Kolar Gold Fields and Presten Gold Fields in Ghana. He is the Founder of the William Richards Schools in the Kolar Gold Fields and is Chairman of the Mountain Home School Board of Management.

SAMAROO DOREEN

17. Doreen was born in Jhansi and is a British citizen. She was well-known as an athlete and participated in national athletic meets in India. She is a member of the Management Committee of the United Kingdom Anglo-Indian Association.

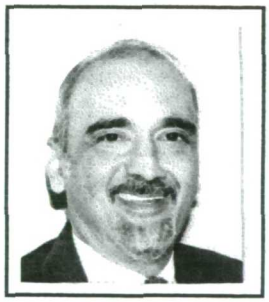
SHIRES NORMA

18. Norma was born in Ajmer and is a citizen of the United States of America. She joined the nursing profession. Along with her husband she worked in a minister-nurse among the Indian tribes. She is the President of the Anglo-Indian Association of the United States of America.



SYIEMLIEH REID DAVID

19. David was born in Shillong and is a citizen of India. He belongs to the Scheduled Tribe (Khasi) and lives in Shillong. He has a Ph.D. from NEHU (North Easter Hill University). He writes extensively and has published two books. His area of specialisation is modern North-East India.



WILLIAMS BLAIR

20. Blair was born in Madras and is now a citizen of the United States of America. He has held various posts in Production Management in the United States of America. He helped to sponsor this research with financial assistance.

APPENDIX 3

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN DURING THE FIELD STUDY IN 1990

THE PHOTOGRAPHS HAVE BEEN GROUPED ALPHABETICALLY ACCORDING TO THE INDIAN STATES

CONTENTS **PAGE**

3. STATE OF KERALA

The photographs are of the large group of Anglo-Indians who attended the group interview which was held in the CCPLM Anglo-Indian High School in Perumanoor. There are also photographs taken with the family who offered a home to the researcher in Cochin.

4. STATE OF MAHARASHTRA

The photographs are of Barnes School in Devlali. The group photographs are of the students and the staff who participated in the group interviews and classroom observation. There is one photograph of two Anglo-Indian boys on their "adventure", that is, the nature-ramble class. The last set of photographs were taken in Bombay of ex-students of the Class of '55-'56 of the Anglo-Indian school which the researcher attended. The final photograph is the group interview with two Jesuits in their refectory in St. Xavier's School, Bombay.

5. STATE OF MEGHALAYA

The first three photographs were taken in the home of Bill Philips who organised the group interview of Anglo-Indians in Shillong. The two Khasi women were interviewed during the coach journey from Shillong to Gauhati. The next set of photographs are of Khasi women who lived in the Loreto Convent Hostel. The Loreto sisters in Shillong who offered the researcher accommodation in their convent are in the next two photographs. The final two photographs are of an Armenian woman principal and her Mizo husband. They owned and administered a large Anglo-Indian school in Shillong.

6. STATE OF TAMIL NADU

The first few photographs are of Laidlaw Memorial School and Junior College in Ketti. The following photographs are of the students, the Principal and the Headmaster of the school. The girls wanted their photograph taken inside a grove of eucalyptus trees and another photograph outside their "cottage". The next few photographs were taken during a classroom observation of Anglo-Indian children in the school. The Principal organised a get-together of members of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association.

There are photographs of this group enjoying the evening dinner after the interview. The photographs of the group of girls with their Principal was taken in Coonoor. The photographs of the women teachers of Doveton Corrie school in Madras was taken after the interview on the steps of the school. The pictures are of the open air assembly and a pre-vocational classroom observation. The last group of photographs are of Anglo-Indians in Madras. The final set of photographs were taken in Christ Church school.

7. UNION TERRITORY OF DELHI

New Delhi.....451

The photograph was of The Frank Anthony High School in New Delhi. The next photograph was a political demonstration demanding rights for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in India.

8. STATE OF WEST BENGAL

Calcutta.....452

The photographs taken in Calcutta are of Anglo-Indians who live in a convent. The photograph was taken after an interview and during a classroom observation of a typing class. The next photographs are of an Anglo-Indian Salesian nun who runs a Nursery and Kindergarten in Calcutta. She is assisted by Anglo-Indian women. The Loreto sisters also took part in the interview. The last two photographs are of the Nursery run by the Anglo-Indian Salesian nun and an Anglo-Indian woman who was interviewed.


ST. PETER'S SCHOOL FARIDABAD
WELCOMES
MR. SYDNEY REBEIRO
PRESIDENT, The All-India Anglo-Indian


ST. PETER'S SCHOOL FARIDABAD
WELCOMES
Mr. SYDNEY REBEIRO
PRESIDENT, The All-India Anglo-Indian


ST. PETER'S SCHOOL FARIDABAD
WELCOMES
MR. SYDNEY REBEIRO
PRESIDENT, The All India Anglo-Indian
Development Association
HIS COLLEAGUES


THE FRANK ANTHONY PUBLIC SCHOOL
COURAGE IS DESTINY


C.C.P.L.M. ANGLO-INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL


CLEMECS CORREYA HALL


UNION
OF
ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION


C.C.P.L.M. ANGLO-INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL


BARNES SCHOOL
JOAN OF ARC
POINTS
CANDY
POINTS
HELEN KELLER
GREAVES
EDITH CAVELL
ROYAL
FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE
SPENCE

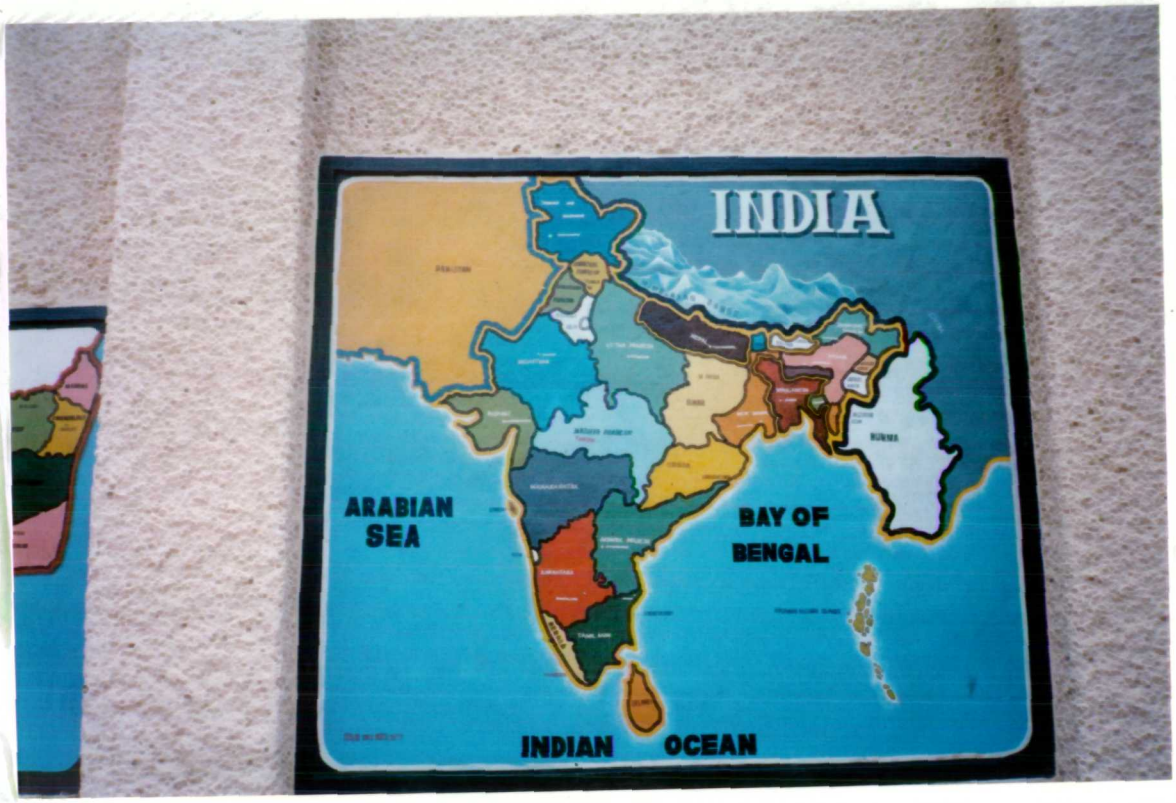

HEAD GIRLS

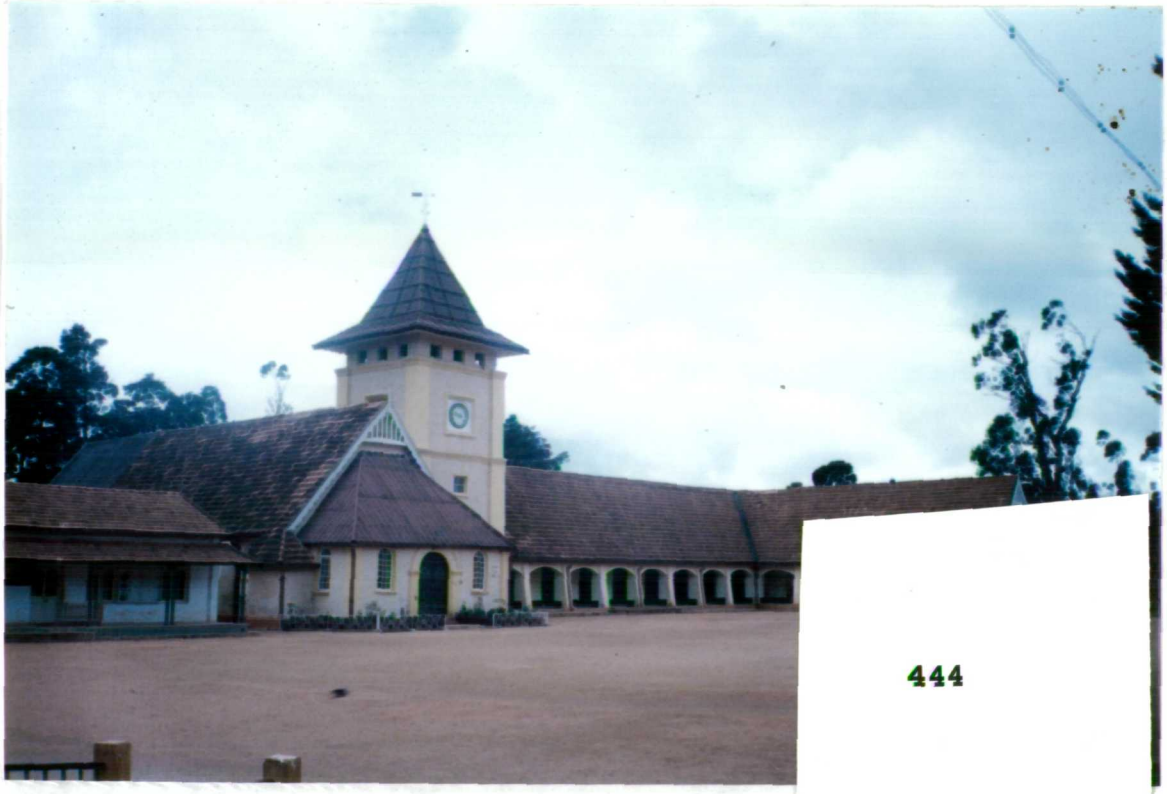

CENTRAL AUTOMOBILES


CENTRAL AUTOMOBILES

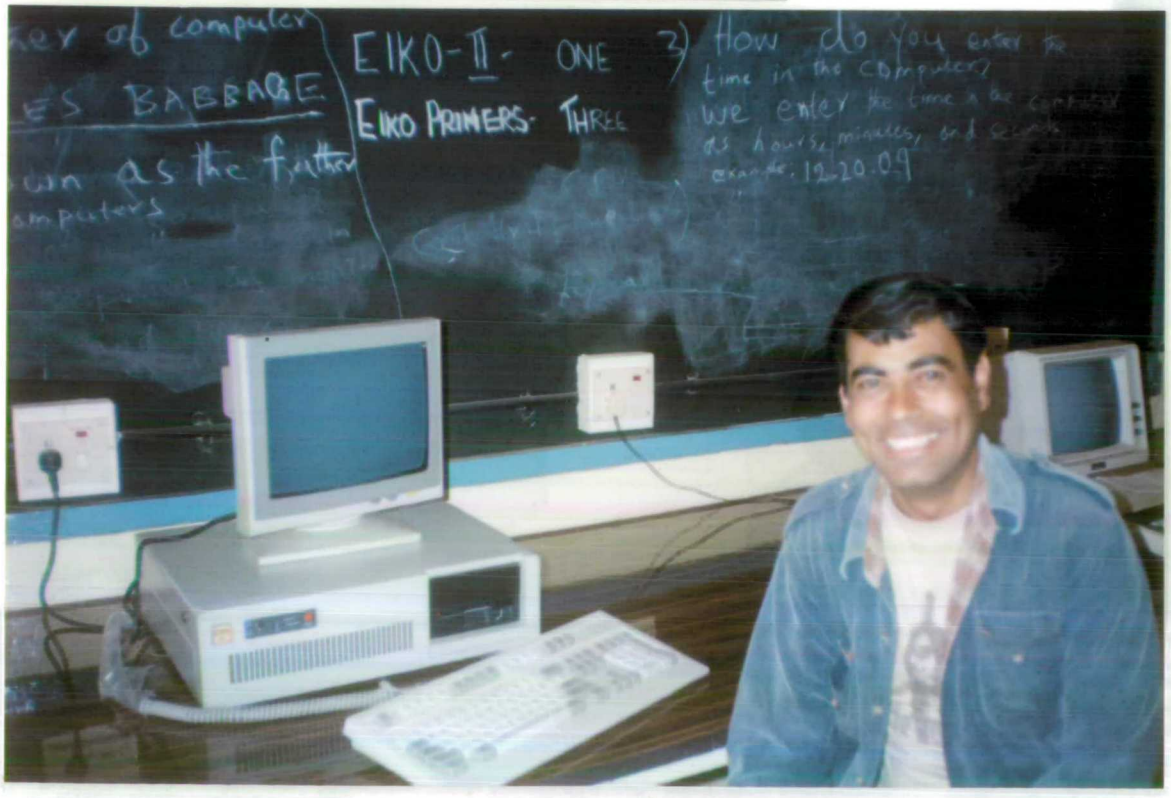

CENTRAL AUTOMOBILES


GHALAYA TOURISM DEVELO T CORPORATION
GOVT. O EGHALA UNDERTAKING


INDIA
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIAN OCEAN
BURMA



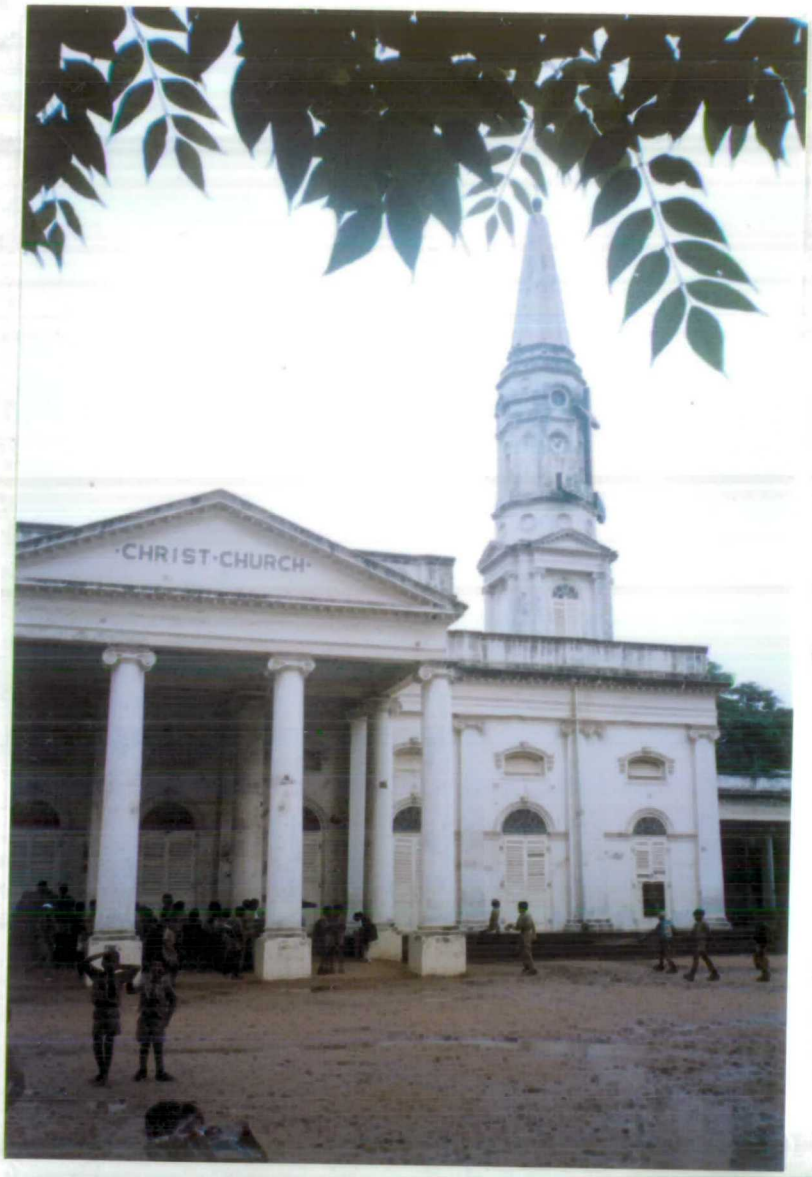

THE LAIDLAW MEMORIAL SCHOOL AND JUNIOR COLLEGE
COCK HOUSE SCORE BOARD
TOTAL
COCKBURN
BOYS
GIRLS
PLUMMER
BOYS
GIRLS
HAMILTON
BOYS
GIRLS
LAIDLAW
BOYS
GIRLS


EIKO-II - ONE
EIKO PRIMERS - THREE
3) How do you enter the time in the computer?
we enter the time a
as hours, minutes,
example: 12.20.09


USEFUL PLANTS


Pioneer Pass


Estd:1879.
The Anglo-Indian Association of Southern India


·CHRIST·CHURCH·

APPENDIX 4

A STUDY OF ANGLO-INDIAN FAMILIES IN TWO SLUMS IN BANGALORE AND CALCUTTA: LINGARAJAPURAM AND THILLJALLAH

LINGARAJAPURAM SLUM IN BANGALORE CITY, STATE OF KARNATAKA

Lingarajapuram slum was selected because it was featured in the Channel 4 programme about Anglo-Indians in India. This programme made Anglo-Indians in Britain aware of the poverty in the community. An Anglo-Indian social worker who was interviewed on the Channel 4 programme agreed to meet the researcher in Lingarajapuram. She and her husband worked and lived in Lingarajapuram. Both agreed to be interviewed. (See Profile Nos. 67- 68)

An Anglo-Indian couple living in the slum was introduced to the researcher by the Anglo-Indian social worker. The couple were interviewed. (See Profile Nos. 65-66) This couple was living in one room, without electricity or running water. It was neat and clean. It had one bed, a table, three chairs, a kerosene stove, kitchen utensils and small bundles of clothes in baskets. The interview had to be stopped when it started to become dark. The researcher bought some oil for the kerosene lights in order to continue the interview. The place was infested with mosquitoes. The evening meal was being prepared during the interview. Amidst the poverty their sense of hospitality did not desert them. They were dignified in their poverty and deprivation.

The Anglo-Indian man worked as a security guard and was paid Rs.600 per month. (The poverty line in India is Rs. 800). His son worked as a mechanic in a local garage and was paid Rs.900 per month. The couple had one daughter who was attending a shorthand and typing class. She had dropped out of school at the age of 15. She had failed to pass the Indian language examinations in the school. Two grandchildren were also living with them. These grandchildren had become mentally retarded.

The couple had attended Anglo-Indian schools in West Bengal and Tamil Nadu. They spoke English and Kannada

fluently. They were literate in English, but could not read or write Kannada, which is the state language. When the researcher asked them why their children had not attended a well-known Anglo-Indian school in Bangalore, which offered scholarships to Anglo-Indians, they answered,

> How can we send our children to the Frank Anthony School? We are very poor. That school is only for rich Indians. The money they give us is only for the school fees. What about the clean white uniforms? What about travelling by bus? What about books, pencils, exercise books? You know these schools are very "pukka" [elitist] and we just cannot afford the "extras" that are needed just to attend the school.

The husband and wife had attended Anglo-Indian schools. They had both dropped out of school when they were 15+. They said,

> When we think about it, we realise that we just did not try hard enough. We both had "freeships".

None of their three children had passed the school leaving certificate examinations held in Class 10. The children had failed to learn an Indian language and had dropped out of school.

There was a quiet resignation about this couple and their family. They agreed to their photograph being taken by the researcher. (See Appendix 3, Bangalore).

Before leaving their home, the woman smiled and said,

> At least we have our own front and back door and we can lock them at night.

The distance between the two doors was twelve feet.

THILLJALLAH SLUM IN CALCUTTA CITY, STATE OF WEST BENGAL

The researcher was not introduced to any of the Anglo-Indian families in Thilljallah slum. She walked into the slum and asked where the Anglo-Indians lived. She was directed to a hut in the slum. The woman was pleased to meet the researcher. She asked a few Anglo-Indians to join her and the group willingly took part in the group interview.

Thilljallah slum was selected for two reasons. First, the researcher had lived in Calcutta from 1968-1973, and was aware of the poverty of Anglo-Indians in this slum through a charity called PROJECT '73. Second, Calcutta was surveyed in the Baptist Mission Report in 1957-8.

See, Anglo-Indian Survey Committee (1959) The Baptist Mission Report or The Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958 Calcutta Baptist Mission Press (pp.22-23)

The Anglo-Indians who lived in Thilljallah had all attended Anglo-Indian schools. (See Profile Nos. 164-9) One woman had attended an expensive "hill-station school" in Kurseong, West Bengal. Her son attended a "hill-station school" in Kalimpong, West Bengal. None of the Anglo-Indians who were interviewed had completed ten years of education. None of them had any marketable skills. They were drop outs who were distressed that they had to live in the slum.

Although, they were literate in English, and spoke Bengali fluently, they could not read or write Bengali. The two women worked as servants, one man worked in a garage and one woman worked as a part-time typist and two were unemployed. Six people were interviewed, but comments were also made by members of their families who joined the group. The six people belonged to two Anglo-Indian families. The woman whose son was a boarder in a hill-station school in Darjeeling spoke about the reluctance her son had to leave his school clothes in the hut. He said,

> Why can't I keep them with Mrs....Her home does not smell like ours. My clothes smell so much when I go back to school.

The interview was informal and after a brief introduction by the researcher the questions dealt with life in an Anglo-Indian school and their life in India. The monsoon rain hammered on the fragile tin roof. Carrying on a conversation was difficult. The hut became crowded and the atmosphere was stifling.

Conversation came to a standstill on two occasions, when a sandbag barrier had to be erected to prevent the monsoon rain from overflowing on to the floor of the hut. The group were depressed and talked nostalgically about the "good old days" when the British were in India, although they all had to admit that they were born after Indian independence in 1947.

This group was bitterly disappointed with their education, which did not prepare them for life in India. They all dreamed of emigrating to Australia, where they had relatives. All the Anglo-Indians had attended an Anglo-Indian school. The researcher mentioned an Anglo-Indian school which offered scholarships to poor Anglo-Indians. The man said,

> Of course, I'd have liked to have gone to La Martiniere, but I was too poor to attend the school. For one thing, how do you dress up

for such a rich school?

One woman said,

> I went to Loreto Convent on Ripon Street. My sister went to Entally Loreto Convent. Both these schools did try to teach us, but, we just kept failing the exams. This is a bad dream, I know I can't be living here...yet I am here. I wonder what my mother would have said if she had found me in this hut.

A man said,

> I became difficult in school. I started to bunk school. I didn't finish school. I failed and had to repeat so many times. I failed to pass Bengali, and the teachers couldn't be bothered with me.

The group did not want to be photographed.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of these two interviews presents a picture of economic inequality which could be directly linked to inadequate educational qualifications. All the adult Anglo-Indians had attended Anglo-Indian schools. None of them had completed their Secondary School Leaving Certificate Examinations.

The Anglo-Indian educational system did not exist for the education of these Anglo-Indians. They had no marketable skills and the economic inequality distorted their personal development. In two generations there were cases of mental retardation.

The Lobo Report of Anglo-Indian poverty in two slums resembles the reports written by civil servants in the late nineteenth century. The Lingarajapuram and Thilljallah Anglo-Indians had similar values, beliefs, modes of personal behaviour and patterns of social and economic problems. The lesson to be learned from these slum dwellers is that the schools had failed to improve the opportunities of certain groups of Anglo-Indian children.

The cumulative message of these two studies was clear. At each stage of their education, Anglo-Indians did less well than middle-class Indian children in the same school.

This thesis documented the problem, defined its causes and has prescribed innovative policy in the adoption of a theory-practice model to eliminate disadvantage. Now the critical question is whether the researcher's ideas would find sufficient support to be translated into a national public policy of change for Anglo-Indian schools.

APPENDIX 4

NOTES AND REFERENCES

See also, Gidney, H. (1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community" THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.LXXXIII pp.27-42.

> Anyone who takes the trouble to study the past history of India will not only be astounded, but will hang his head in shame, when he reads of the cruel orders of oppression and repression that were passed by the Directors of the early John Company. One can never forget the unjust and uncalled for order passed by one of the Directors, Lord Valentia, when he, without any reason except perhaps the power secured by mixed races in other parts of the world, and entertaining similar fears of the Anglo-Indian community, by a stroke of the pen disinherited us of all appointments, both civil and military, in India, except as drummers, farriers, and musicians. This was the reward given us after we had shown our value during the early days of the British rule in India. (p.35)

See also, Moorhouse, G. (1983) India Britannica London: Paladin Books. Anglo-Indians

> ... found themselves in a social no man's land between the rulers and the ruled, a sort of outcast society by superior and inferior decree. (p.138)

Moorhouse, observed that if Anglo-Indians

> ... possessed a keener sense of history, if they had attended more carefully to the political winds that were beginning to stir towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Indians might have served their own future better than they did. (p.142)

See also, Nundy, A. (1900) 'The Eurasian Problem in India' THE IMPERIAL AND ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD Vol.9 Part 17018 pp.56-73.

> No serious attempt was made to infuse life into a community, not only indifferent to its own interests, but practically inert, and to stimulate it with a desire for self-respect, self-help, and mutual co-operation, so that by a combined effort there would be some chance of promoting the moral, mental and physical welfare of the individuals of which it is composed. (p.58)

In 1939, Anderson, G. referred to the

> ... considerable harshness and injustice which have been meted out to the community in the past; and that, in spite of that treatment, Anglo-Indians have been steadfast in their loyalty and service towards building up the British Empire in India. (p.71)

He also stated that the Anglo-Indian community needed leadership.

> The training given in the schools, though admirable in itself, is not enough. I have often been told that boys and girls who had shown good promise while at schools have been compelled on account of poverty to take up duties which are lacking in scope and prospects. (p.78)

Anderson, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.35 pp.71-96.

See also, Arden Wood, W.H. (1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India' THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol.24 pp.417-46. Arden Wood, W.H. during the Proceedings of the East India Association on April 13, 1928 with Sir Campbell Rhodes in the Chair read a paper which questioned the validity of education of Anglo-Indians in their schools, in the face of disconcerting facts that although scholarships

> ... offered in the various provinces to assist Anglo-Indian University students, though in most cases numerous enough, were not sufficiently valuable to tempt the poorer students to take a University course. (p.423)

Arden Wood, took the argument of education for Anglo-Indians further. He stated that the

> ... education of a small community spread over the whole of India must be organized very completely if the maximum of efficiency and economy is to be secured, and I doubt if this can be the case under existing arrangements. (p.434)

See also, Hedin, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community' THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.40 pp.165-179 Illinois: The University of Chicago Press. Hedin, E.L. discussed the Anglo-Indian's inferior economic and social status of being an outcaste. This together with the repressive orders by the British made it difficult for Anglo-Indians to survive, and the eventual

> ...debarment from their accustomed work had in many cases reduced (the Anglo-Indians) to poverty and degradation; these facts were now used against them to prove that they were inherently degenerate and shiftless, unfit for the society of English women and the pursuits of English gentlemen. (p.168)

Hedin's article describes how the Anglo-Indians were

despised "by both British and Indians" and he expressed a concern for the community which "may well be submerged in the turmoil of the present, trampled under by the march of India's millions toward nationalism," (p.165) See also, Roy, W.T. (1974) 'Hostages to Fortune: A Socio-political study of the Anglo-Indian remnant in India' 28 International Congress of Orientalists Canberra, January 1971 PLURAL SOCIETIES Summer pp.55-64.

Crossette, B. (1991) stated that the education for subordinacy bred a

> ... marked complacency among Anglo-Indians who prized literacy in English but found it unnecessary and irksome to pursue higher education. Thus one feature of Anglo-Indian sub-culture was that its members were by and large literate but uneducated, proficient only in a few skilled trades, but by and large innocent of commercial or professional skills, and with few exceptions landless... (p.57)

See Crossette, B. (1991) 'The Gentlefolk of India, still as English as can be' The Lucknow Journal. NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL Thursday, June 20.

Prior to Indian Independence in 1947, Lady Mountbatten the wife of the last Viceroy to India asked Mr. Frank Anthony the leader of the Anglo-Indian community why the community behaved arrogantly, because she was admonished by an Anglo-Indian nurse for shaking hands with low-caste hospital workers. Mr. Anthony replied,

> We've been brought up to be arrogant. All our schools were run by British principals. They taught us British geography, British history. But they taught us nothing about India. What did you expect us to be?

Quoted in "Lucknow Journal" June 20, 1991. This remark is an important one, because it offers a comment on the perception of an Anglo-Indian leader of his educational experience in an Anglo-Indian school. In other words, the Anglo-Indian educational experience was fitted to serve the needs of the British Raj and not to understand and integrate with Indian society.

Inadequate educational qualifications had led to unemployment and poverty. Anglo-Indians living in two slums in India were interviewed in 1990. The reason for interviewing these Anglo-Indians was to find out their educational experience in Anglo-Indian schools.

See also, Rutter, M. and Madge, N. (1977) Cycles of Disadvantage: A Review of Research London: Heinemann p.131; see also, Tizard, J; Schofield, W.N. and Hewson, J. (1982) 'Collaboration between Teachers and parents in assisting children's reading', BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.52, pp.1-5; see also, Floud,

J.E; Halsey, A.H. and Martin, F.M. (1956) Social Class and Educational Opportunity London: William Heinemann Ltd. p.148; see also, Kellmer Pringle, M.L. (1971) Deprivation and Education London: Longman in Association with the National Bureau of Co-operation in Child Care p.2; see also, Taylor, G. and Ayres, N. (1969) Born and Bred Unequal London: Longman p.111. See, Birley, D. and Dufton, A. (1971) An Equal Chance: Equalities and Inequalities of Educational Opportunity London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (p.6). Birley, D. and Dufton, A. argue that

> ... it is not enough to equate under-privilege with lack of money . .. it seems clear that inadequate parental support . . . a very complex thing is nearer the heart of the matter than poverty. (p.6)

See also, Cohen, E. (1970) 'Parental factors in Educational Mobility', IN: M. Craft. (ed.) Family, Class and Education U.K.: Longman (p.223) Cohen, E. describes independent types of parental motivation. Fathers emphasised the desirability of certain jobs requiring a college education and mothers desired the college degree as a key to middle class status for children. (p.223); see also, Widlake, P. (1986) Reducing Educational Disadvantage Milton Keynes: Open University Press. Widlake, P. argues that the performance of children in areas of

> ... language development, can be considerably improved through parental involvement. (p.72)

See also, Jencks, C. et.al., (1972) Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America London: Allen Lane; see also, Ferdman, B.M. 'Literacy and Cultural Identity', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.60 no.2 May pp.181-204 and p.183. Parental involvement has been the subject of many studies and the conclusion of the evidence indicates a correlation between home-background variables and the children's level of academic achievement.

The attitudes, values and lifestyles of the Anglo-Indians causes them to perform relatively poorly in the Anglo-Indian schools. Home background is vital to a child's language development. See, The Bullock Report (1975) A Language for Life HMSO. The Anglo-Indian school accommodates the mainstream society, and the disadvantaged Anglo-Indian child suffers real difficulties, because the minority group is seen as a low-prestige group, with little social power. See also, Rosen, B.C. (1959) 'Race, Ethnicity, and Achievement Syndrome', AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW Vol. 24 pp.47-60 p.57; see also, Whiteman, M; Brown, B.R. and Deutsch, M. (1967) 'Some effects of social class and race on children's language and intellectual abilities', IN:

M.Deutsch (ed.) The Disadvantaged Child New York: Basic Books; see also, Thomas, H. (1983) 'Education and the maximization of welfare: A response to "curricular yogis and cost-benefit commissars" ', JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM STUDIES Vol.15 No.1 pp.73-82; see also, Thomas, H. (1985) 'Provision, Process and Performance in compulsory education: An Economic Perspective on changing enrolment' IN: M. Hughes; P.Ribbins, and H. Thomas (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston p.144

In 1989, the researcher had contacted a British charity called ANGLO-INDIAN CONCERN in Cambridge, U.K. Information about Anglo-Indian slum dwellers in Madras was also given to the researcher by Dr. Tom Thurley who was one of the founders of ANGLO-INDIAN CONCERN.

APPENDIX 5

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH INTO THE ANGLO-INDIAN COMMUNITY

During the study of the history of Anglo-Indian schools and the field study, it emerged that there were limitations on this research. Other areas were identified which represent strikingly different aspects of the Anglo-Indian community. Future researchers might consider these areas to be worthy of further study. (1)

1. Bilingualism in two diverse Anglo-Indian communities in India: A Comparative Study of the Keralite Anglo-Indians and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians in India.

This area of research would provide a powerful argument for liberal reformers in education. Bilingualism creates substantial economic privilege and social status for both these groups of Anglo-Indians. A study could offer a comparative analysis of "backward" status which attracts positive discrimination from the Indian government. A study could also investigate the essential differences between the Keralite Anglo-Indians who belong to Other Backward Classes, and the Meghalayan Anglo-Indians who are Scheduled Tribe.

2. The Multiple-Method Approach in applying the Theory-Practice Model: Triangulation and Action Research/Case Studies of Anglo-Indian children in the socio-practical field of Anglo-Indian schools in India.

Multiple-methods are effective when a controversial method (ethical pluralism combined with Indian language learning) needs to be evaluated. (2) Multiplicity of perspectives (3) can be a useful technique for four reasons:
1. It will cover the immediate applicability of the theory-practice model in the classroom and the accounts express the social position of the teacher, the participant-observer and the student.

2. Triangulation and Action Research/Case Studies could be part of In-Service training (INSET) in a school.

3. It would make a valid contribution to improving communication between a researcher and a practising teacher.

4. This would be a radical change in an Anglo-Indian school, where students would be consulted in an effort to raise educational standards.

The idea for this further area of research was identified during the field study, when a combined arts' class was observed The students and the teachers were interviewed after the lesson. They were given an opportunity to discuss the group process of co-operation and mutual support and evaluate the activities and strategies appropriate to the group.

3. Modular Curriculum Development for minority education: Anglo-Indian Bilingualism and Integration into Indian society.

The Modular Curriculum Package (4) could be the result of collaboration among teachers in an Anglo-Indian school which adopts the theory-practice model. The school is committed to using the theory-practice model. The modules must be subsumed (5) into the larger educational process of learning an Indian language and understanding India's religions through a creative and practical activity. There are seven specifications in designing a Modular Curriculum Package. (6) The following ideas might help the teachers to develop a Modular Curriculum Package in an Anglo-Indian school:

1. THEME:
   Learning an Indian language and understanding India's religions;
2. TITLE:
   (i) Employment in the World of Work, or
   (ii) Necessary skills for entering further and higher education;
3. ENTRY LEVELS:
   Targeted at different age groups;
4. RATIONALE:
   Related to post-16 opportunities;
5. AIMS:
   General, personal development and social development;
6. ASSESSMENT OF SKILLS AND ABILITIES:
   (i) Evidence of written work,
   (ii) Interview conducted in an Indian language,
   (iii) A personal exhibition of the student's skills and abilities, that is, in art, music, drama, dance, cooking, metal and wood work projects, fashion show displaying textile design, tailoring and embroidery, puppet-making, set-design, computer programmes and physical education.
7. TEACHING AND LEARNING APPROACHES:
   These should be concerned with experiential rather than didactic teaching.

Students should be offered a Profile of him/herself at

the end of each academic year. The Profile of Progress (7) should include only positive statements about skills and abilities. The Profile could be an invaluable record of events, awards, certificates of merit, exhibitions, concerts and responsibilities undertaken by the student. A teacher who undertakes to keep these important records of progress or achievement should be offered an incentive allowance.

4. Induction Programmes for Anglo-Indian minority children: The transfer from a slum school to an elitist school.

The induction programme would break the mould, so to speak, and create a miniature school. The timing of the induction programme should occur during the winter vacation, when most Anglo-Indian residential schools are closed for two months. Teachers who are involved in the induction programme would be teaching during their holidays. These teachers should be offered an incentive allowance to introduce the induction programme. The teachers should use as wide a variety of methods as possible in order to foster autonomous learning strategies in their Anglo-Indian students.

The induction programme must be adapted to the Anglo-Indian learner's characteristics. The induction programme should be a confidence-building exercise. This area of research would depend on collaboration between teachers, social workers and parents in the community. The induction programme is the opportunity for slum children to communicate and learn by listening, talking, questioning, sharing and imitating.

An induction programme would involve analyzing the needs Anglo-Indians have on arrival in the schools. These needs could range from using a library and getting specialised tuition in English and an Indian language, to improving personal hygiene and learning social etiquette.

There is no wish to be credited with, or even accused of, pioneering an innovation as some strange new curriculum within schools. The aim of the induction programme is inseparable from those of education as a whole, and, hence must be addressed in all aspects of the curriculum. Historically, the weighting given to English in the past must be shifted to Indian languages in the future. The induction programme should also include an area of Personal, Social and Health Education. (8)

PSHE is a practical issue and must be located in the induction programme. The issue of status is crucial, because Anglo-Indian children who enter an elitist Anglo-Indian school from a slum lack skills of communication, decision making, problem solving and reflection which middle-class children possess. This affects their

successful transfer to the school.

Schools should stop the practice of stereotyping the poor Anglo-Indian by offering them ill-fitting uniforms, shaving their heads, or giving them hand-me-down-dog-eared books. If the induction programme is geared to confidence building, then the parents of these poor Anglo-Indian students should not be subjected to rigorous questions which results in shattering their egos.

The programme must determine rules and specify kinds of explanation for introducing the programme to Anglo-Indians. The induction programme would enable Anglo-Indian students to learn more about learning. This means, and this is the most important point, that Anglo-Indian students would learn to take responsibility for and monitor their own learning.

5. The Indian Mutiny - 1857: The Revolution which was won in the Anglo-Indian classroom.

An aspect which has been overlooked by previous research is that a historic decision in 1857 was made for the Anglo-Indians in their Christian schools. The English language, Christian brotherhood and European fathers, forced the Anglo-Indians to take up arms against their Indian brothers. it was not only a "call of blood" (9) but a call for marching onwards as Christian Soldiers.

It was a mutiny which called for Christian brotherhood, and the obeying of commands in the English language. Unfortunately, it was not a call for Anglo-Indians to unite with Hindus and Muslims. It was not a call for protecting Indians against colonial oppression.

It is an interesting hypothesis. It is the first time that an Anglo-Indian (the researcher) has voiced an opinion which is pro-Indian, and linked the 1857 decision to education.

6. The global perspective of the new ethnicity of Anglo-Indians: A comparative study of American, Australian, Canadian, British and Indian Anglo-Indians.

Anglo-Indians have settled in four continents. They have created a new ethnicity. A comparative study of the Anglo-Indians will offer invaluable insights into how they integrated into majority cultures. This would make fascinating reading for all Anglo-Indians, no matter where they live.

APPENDIX 5

NOTES AND REFERENCES

(1) A down-to-earth book for researchers is written by Phillips, M. E. and Pugh, D.S. (1988) How to get a Ph.D.: Managing the peaks and troughs of research Milton Keynes: Open University Press. On page 55 of this book is an interesting comment on "the importance of your thesis to the development of the discipline". Phillips and Pugh argue that all good research is significant but limited. Therefore, in the most general terms, one's thesis should produce successors who "face a different situation when determining what their research work should be since they now have to take account of your work". The researcher gave careful thought to the limitations of this thesis, and the concluding Chapter offers suggestions of "areas for future research into the Anglo-Indian community".

(2) Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1985) Research Methods in Education Second Edition Kent, U.K.: Croom Helm p.262

(3) Adelman, C., Jenkins, D. and Kemmis, S. (1980) 'Rethinking case study: Notes from the Second Cambridge Conference', IN: H. Simons, (ed.) Towards a Science of the Singular University of East Anglia: Centre for Applied Research in Education

(4) Warwick, D. (1988) The Modular Curriculum Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd; see also, Naik, J.P. (1975) Equality, Quality and quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education The Tagore Memorial Lectures delivered at the University of poona on 23, 24, 25 August, 1975. New Delhi: Allied Publishers. Naik, J.P. (1975) stated that National Integration should be recognised as a "major value to be promoted and the need to fight against forces of linguism, regionalism and communalism has also been accepted, but unfortunately, little work has been done to guide the schools and teachers in evolving practical programmes to promote these values." (p.55) This research offers teachers in Anglo-Indian schools an educational theory practice in the language and religious educational curriculum to evolve a practical programme to promote the "major value" of National Integration.

(5) Warwick, D. (1988) ibid., Chapter 6 'Preparation and Planning,' and Chapter 7 'Motivation through modules'.

(6) The specifications listed are found in Warwick, D. (1988) op. cit., pp.130-1.

(7) The theory-practice model will depend upon careful

record keeping of educational progress for Anglo-Indian students. Warwick, D. (1988) op. cit., Chapter 9 'Records of Progress' offers helpful suggestions to create Records of Progress. Warwick, D. based this chapter on Records of Progress or Records of Achievement, (as they are sometimes called) from the work done by schools in Britain.

The importance of these Records of Progress/Achievement lies in the fact that these records offer students a basis for the "construction of a personal curriculum which is at once dynamic, balanced and coherent; for the parents, evidence of progress through schemes which can appear baffling in their complexity; for the school, and excellent way of building overall aims directly into each individual programme of work". (p.178)

(8) The book by J. Ryder and L. Campbell is designed for two types of teachers. The first type is trying out active learning methods and the second type has responsibilities for curriculum coordination and staff development. See, Ryder, J. and Campbell, L. (1988) Balancing Acts in Personal, Social and Health Education London and New York: Routledge

(9) Stark, H.A. (1932) The Call of the Blood: Or Anglo-Indians and the Sepoy Mutiny Calcutta: British Burma Press. Stark, H.A. (1932) was an Anglo-Indian educationist. He was a Fellow of the University of Calcutta, an Inspector of European Schools in Bengal, a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council, President of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association, Bengal, and Founder and First President of the Anglo-Indian Association in London. His book which described the Anglo-Indian viewpoint of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 had received praise from the Anglo-Indian community. H. Cecil Desanges, Bar-at-Law, President of the Anglo-Indian Association in Allahabad described the book as, "Absorbing; thrilling; heroic; most readable". Penn-Anthony, T.A. from Poona stated, "You have told a glorious story gloriously, and treated a great theme greatly. It is unfair to pick out one Chapter in eight splendid Chapters of equal worth; but the last Chapter is grand indeed". The MADRAS-MAIL stated, "In the publication of all his works, Mr. Stark has rendered a very great service not only to his own community, but also to other communities". These comments were taken from the cover of Stark's book "Hostages to India".

APPENDIX 6

ANALYSIS OF THE EARLIEST PAPERS OF UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS SYNDICATE OVERSEAS CENTRES: DECEMBER 1906

The importance of the Cambridge examinations dominated the debate about Anglo-Indian schools at the turn of the century. The researcher decided to investigate what these examinations expected of students in India at the turn of the twentieth century.

The University of Cambridge sent a copy of the earliest papers which were sent to India. The date was December 1906.

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE LOCAL EXAMINATIONS SYNDICATE (OVERSEAS CENTRES) DECEMBER 1906

The Cambridge Examination was the uniform standard for 16+ students in Anglo-Indian schools. There was a difference between the Cambridge Examinations held in Anglo-Indian schools and the Matriculation and High School examinations conducted in non-Anglo-Indian schools. Students who passed the Cambridge examinations gained admission to British Universities without sitting for a pre-university examination. On 12 December 1906 an Anglo-Indian student sitting for an English Literature paper would have been faced with questions which had no relevance to Indian culture.

> A gentle Knight was pricking on the plaine,
> Ycladd in mightie armes and silver shielde.
> (English Literature: Question 10)

The spelling must have worried many a young Anglo-Indian who was trying to learn English. To quote another example from an English History paper, dated 14 December 1906.

> Contrast the misrule of William Rufus with
> the misrule of Stephen.
> (English History: Question 2)

William and Stephen were understandable, they were names of friends in the class. The word "misrule", once again was far removed from India and her history.
History of the British Empire A.D. 1492-1784 (14 December 1906); Geography (12 December, 1906); Political Economy (11 December 1906); None of the questions were relevant

to Indian culture. Out of the 8 questions on the History of the British Empire, only question 8 was relevant to India which was:

> Summarise concisely the results achieved by Warren Hastings during his Governor-Generalship of India.

Perhaps, another question in the paper might have had relevance to the Anglo-Indian student. It was question 2.

> Discuss with reference to British colonial history the truth of Turgot's theory that "colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree only till they ripen".

An Indian student with parents in the Indian National Congress, might have coped with this question, but an Anglo-Indian who was schooled to think that the British were invincible, might have had problems pursuing the argument in the answer.

In Section B of the Geography Paper the river Ganges was the important river in India; however for the Senior students doing Physical Geography, the four maps were all of Europe. The Music Paper demanded a knowledge of transposition, three-part harmony, a full account of Handel's Messiah and a historical documentation of Palestrina and Bach or Handel and Haydn. In order to retain the Cambridge examination, Inspectors and senior teachers were recruited in England.

APPENDIX 7

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ANGLO-INDIANS IN SHILLONG, MEGHALAYA

The matrilineal descent of the Anglo-Indian community in Shillong who are members of the Scheduled Khasi Tribe. The Khasi Anglo-Indian men revert to their tribal status, when they take their mother's surname. The Khasi Anglo-Indians belong to the Khasi Scheduled Tribe.

The group was interested in how they were going to be included in a research about Anglo-Indians if their society was matriarchal. The answer lies in the definition of the Constitution of India. An Anglo-Indian was descended in the male line from a European. The Khasi Anglo-Indians fulfilled this criteria, and the Constitution of India did not mention surnames. The definition was based on patrilineal descent, and these Anglo-Indians were descended from the British, although they are matrilineal.

The Constitution of India describes the Anglo-Indian as a person of European descent in the male line. The Anglo-Indians in Shillong fulfil this criteria. However, the community is a matrilineal one, and this research is the first one to investigate the Anglo-Indians who live in the North-Easter Frontier State of Meghalaya. (Capital: Shillong)

The Anglo-Indians in Meghalaya are called Khasis. They are descendants of British tea planters, Civil Servants, Army Officers and Presbyterian Ministers. Most of the Anglo-Indians in Meghalaya are of Scottish descent. They usually receive their education in an Anglo-Indian school called Dr. Graham's Homes, in Kalimpong. There are Anglo-Indians who do not have Khasi mothers, and these Anglo-Indians retain their Anglo-Saxon surnames. They are a very closely knit community with excellent communication links between families, and this supports the group interaction process. See, Shaw, M. (1964) Communication Networks ADVANCES IN EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.1 pp.111-47 (p.111). There are approximately ten thousand Khasi Anglo-Indians/Schedule Tribe, and when the group was asked the question about size, one man said,

> If you ever want to count our numbers you must attend a funeral. The whole community comes, and the gathering of the clan can amount to many hundreds of people. We are a very close-knit community. We know one another very well and we are welcome in one another's homes.

Profile No. 590 and Appendix (Photographs) SHILLONG They are "fiercely proud of English", and relate how teachers will travel the "length and breadth" of Meghalaya to teach English. These Anglo-Indians in Meghalaya are bilingual in Khasi and English. A woman said,

> We realise Meghalaya is small. There are not many of us. We speak Khasi and English at home. Hindi was our second language in school.

See Profile No. 589 Appendix 3 Photographs SHILLONG. It was interesting to note that Khasi and English were "integrated" as a mother-tongue, although they are separate languages. The Khasi Anglo-Indians were totally bilingual with an integrated mother-tongue of Khasi and English. They describe themselves in these terms. They do not possess a caste system, and were proud to state that there was no word for "servant" in Khasi, and refer to a person who works in a home as a sister (kong). When they addressed one another in the researcher's presence they called one another brother (bah). The clan was called (kur) and there was a sense of camaraderie during the group interview. All Khasi Anglo-Indians stressed the egalitarian society in which they lived, because matrilineality was not the same as "British Paternalism".

A group of thirty five Khasi women were interviewed. They were all Roman Catholics, but did not have Christian names or Anglo-Saxon surnames. They were bilingual in English and Khasi, and stated that their broad religious teaching was "practically interdenominational". All these women were the first generation Khasis to benefit from positive discrimination. Their parents were farmers, and their names had a breath of nature, e.g. "Beautiful", "Rising Sun", "Easter Star" and "Wonderment". A few of them were living in a Roman Catholic convent hostel. Scheduled Tribe status gave these women self-confidence, education and hope for the future. See Profile Nos. 595-628 and Appendix Photographs SHILLONG

Khasi Anglo-Indians/Schedule Tribe receive positive discrimination for entrance to Higher Education, reservation of jobs in the Indian Civil Service and Government departments, and are also entitled to be educated in an Anglo-Indian school. Their unusual status in India has benefited the community.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABEL, E.P. (1988) The Anglo-Indian Community: Survival in India, Delhi: Chanakya Publications.

ABOUD, F. (1989) Children and Prejudice, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

ABRAMS, M. (1957) Social Surveys and Social Action, London: Heinemann.

ABRAMS, P. (ed.) (1978) 'Introduction' IN: P. Abrams. Work, Urbanism and Inequality: U.K. Society Today, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

ABUDARHAN, S. (ed.) (1987) Bilingualism and the Bilingual: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Pedagogical and Remedial Issues, U.K.: NFER- Nelson.

ADAMS, G.R., and COHEN, A.S. (1976) 'Characteristics of children and teacher expectancy: An extension to the child's social and family life' JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH Vol. 70 pp: 87-90.

ADELMAN, C., JENKINS, D. and KEMMIS, S. (1980) 'Rethinking case study: Notes from the Second Cambridge Conference', IN: H. Simons. (ed.) Towards a Science of the Singular, University of East Anglia: Centre for Applied Research in Education.

AGER, D., MUSKENS, G. and WRIGHT, S. (eds.) (1993) Language Education for Intercultural Communication, Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters 96.

AGGARWARL, J.C. (1976) Educational Implications of the Twenty Point Economic Programme: A New Educational Deal for the Downtrodden, New Delhi: Arya Book Depot.

----------(1987) The Progress of Education in Free India: With Special Reference to National Policy on Education, New Delhi: Arya Book Depot.

----------(1989) National Policy on Education, 1986 An Appraisal, New Delhi: Doaba House.

----------(1990) Curriculum Reforms in India: World Overview, Delhi: Doaba House.

----------(1991) Ramamurti Report, 1990 on National Policy on Education in India, Major Recommendations, Evaluation and Corrective Measures, Delhi: Doaba House.

AGUIAR, B. (1990) 'In God's Name', THE TABLET November 17 1990 pp: 1468-9.

AIR (1954) Supreme Court 561, pp: 568-69 Govt. of India Publication.

ALLEN, C. (ed.) (1977) Plain Tales From The Raj, London: Andre Deutsch.

----------(1978) Raj: A Scrapbook of British India 1877 - 1947), London: Andre Deutsch.

ALMOND, B. (1988) 'Conflict or Compromise? Religious and Moral Education in a Plural Context', IN: V.A. McClelland (ed.) Christian Education in a Pluralist Society, London: Routledge.

ALTBACH, P.G. (1987) Higher Education in the Third World, London: Sangam Books Ltd.

ANDERSON, G. (1939) 'Anglo-Indian Education', THE ASIATIC REVIEW (NEW SERIES) Vol.35 1939 pp: 71-96.

ANDREWS, C.F. (1939) The True India: A Plea for Understanding, London: George Allen & Unwin.

ANGLO-INDIAN REVIEW (1928) Vol. XVIII No. 7 July.

ANGLO-INDIAN SURVEY COMMITTEE'S REPORT (1959) The Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community, 1957-1958 Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. (This books is also listed under Baptist Mission Report.)

ANTHONY, F. (1964) 'An English-speaking Western People', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION p: 19.

----------(1969) Britain's Betrayal in India, New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

----------(1989) 'Progress In Education and National Integration And the Part Played by English', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION August 1989.

----------(1990) 'Albert Barrow: I Salute A Great Anglo-Indian', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION March.

----------(1990) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: Contribution out of all proportion to its size to India's Progress and Development', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION May.

APPEL, R. and MUYSKEN, P. (1987) Language Contact and Bilingualism, London: Edward Arnold.

ARCHER, M.S. (1985) 'Educational Politics: A Model for

their Analysis', IN: I. McNay and J. Ozga (eds.) Policy-Making in Education: The Breakdown of Consensus, Oxford: Pergamon Press, Open University Set Book.

ARDEN WOOD, W.H. (1913) 'The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference', CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol. I April, 1913 pp: 110-132.

----------(1928) 'The Problem of the Domiciled Community in India', THE ASIATIC REVIEW (NEW SERIES) Vol 24 1928 pp: 417-46.

ARNBERG, L. (1981) Early Childhood Bilingualism in the Mixed-Lingual Family, Doctoral Dissertation, Linkoping University Sweden. University Microfilms International No.82-70, 003.

----------(1987) 'Raising Children Bilingually: The Pre-School Years', MULTILINGUAL MATTERS Clevedon.

ARTHUR, C. (1989) 'Dancing Class: An Introduction to the Educational Potential of the Shiva Nataraja Image', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 11, No. 2 Spring pp: 103-109.

ASHBY, E. (1966) Universities, British, Indian, African, Harvard University Press.

ATKINSON, G.F. (1857) Curry and Rice on Forty Plates: Or the Ingredients of Social Life in Our German Missionary, London: Day & Son. (A photocopy of this book is available on special loan from the British Library.)

AUSTRALIAN SCHOOLS COMMISSION COMMITTEE ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION (1979) Education For a Multicultural Society, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

AUSUBEL, D.P. (1963) 'A Teaching Strategy for Culturally Deprived Pupils: Cognitive and Motivational Considerations', THE SCHOOL REVIEW Winter 1963 University of Chicago Press. pp: 454-463.

BAIER, K. (1971) 'Ethical Pluralism and Moral Education', IN: C.M. Beck; B.S. Crittenden and E.V. Sullivan Moral Education: Interdisciplinary Approaches, University of Toronto: Newman Press.

BALDWIN, J.M. (1906) Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development, New York: Macmillan & Co.

BALL, S. (1981) Beechside Comprehensive Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BALLHATCHET, K. (1980) Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793 - 1905, London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson.

BANKS, J. (1981) Multiethnic Education; Theory and Practice, Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

BAPTIST MISSION REPORT (1959) Pilot Survey of Socio-Economic Conditions of the Anglo-Indian Community 1957-1958, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press. (Also listed under Anglo-Indian Survey Committee's Report.)

BARNARD, H. (1866) Papers for the Teacher, 2nd Series New York: F.C. Brownell pp: 293-310.

BAROOAH, N.K. (1970) David Scott in North-East India 1802-1831: A Study in British Paternalism, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

BASTIDE, D. (1987) Religious Education 5-12, Barcomber, East Sussex: The Falmer Press.

BAYER, J. (1979) 'Anglo-Indians and their Mother Tongue', INDIAN LINGUISTICS Vol. 40 Part 2 Poona pp: 78-84.

----------(1986) A Sociolinguistic Investigation of the English spoken by the Anglo-Indians in Mysore City, Mysore: Central Institute of Indian Languages (C.I.I.L.).

BECHER, T. and MACLURE, S. (1978) The Politics of Curriculum Change, London: Hutchinson.

BECKER, H.S. (1952) 'Social Class Variation in Teacher-Pupil Relationship', JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY Vol. 25 pp: 451-465.

BELL, C. and NEWBY, H. (1975) Community Studies: An Introduction to the Sociology of the Local Community, 2nd Impression London: George Allen & Unwin.

BELL, L.A. (1988) 'The School as an Organization: A Reappraisal', IN: A. Westoby (ed.) Culture and Power in Educational Organizations, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

BENAVOT, A. (1989) 'Education, Gender and Economic Development: A Cross-National Study', SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION Vol. 62 pp: 14-32.

BENDIX, R. (1963) Work and Authority in Industry, New York: Oxford University Press.

BENNETT, N., ANDREAE, J., HEGARTY, R. and WADE, B. (1980) Open Plan Schools, Schools Council United Kingdom: NFER Publishing Co. Ltd.

BERMAN, N. and OLSTRAIN, E. (1983) 'Features of First Language Transfer in Second Language Attrition', APPLIED LINGUISTICS 1: 222-34.

BERNSTEIN, B. (1971) Class, Codes and Control Volume I Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

----------(ed.) (1973) Class, Codes and Control Volume II Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

----------(ed.) (1975) 'Open Schools - Open Society?', IN: B. BERNSTEIN. (ed.) Class, Codes and Control Volume III Towards a Theory of Educational Transmissions, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

BEST, J.W. (1970) Research in Education, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

BETEILLE, A. (1965) Caste, Class and Power: Changing Patterns of Stratification in a Tanjore Village, California: University of California Press.

BHATIA, K. (1974) Indira: A Biography of Prime Minister Gandhi, London: Angus and Robertson.

BINGHAM, J.E. and DAVIES, G.W.P. (1972) A Handbook of Systems Analysis, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

BIRLEY, D. and DUFTON, A. (1971) An Equal Chance: Equalities and Inequalities of Educational Opportunity, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

BISWAS, A. and AGRAWAL, S.P. (1986) Development of Education In India: A Historical Survey of Educational Documents Before and After Independence, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co.

BLOCK, J.M. (1958) Miscegnation, Melalenkation, and Mr. Lincoln's Dog, Appendix B. 'The Term Miscegnation'.

BLISHEN, E. (ed.) (1969) Blond's Encyclopedia of Education, United Kingdom: Blond Educational.

BLUNT, E. (1937) The I.C.S.: The Indian Civil Service, London: Faber and Faber.

BOBB, D. and AHMED, F. (1991) 'McCluskieganj: The Dying of a Dream', INDIA TODAY October 31 pp: 42-49

BOLAM, B. (1974b) Teachers and Innovators, Paper for the OECD DAS/EID/74.53 Paris: OECD.

BOOTH, C. (1889) Life and Labour of the People, 1st Edition. Vol.I London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

BONNER, H. (1959) Group Dynamics: Principles and Applications, New York: Ronald Press.

BORG, W.R. and GALL, M.D. (1989) Educational Research: An Introduction, Fifth Edition. New York: Longman.

BORKAR, V.V. and KURULKAR, R.P. (1987) Employment Experience of Weaker Caste Graduates: Marathwada Region, India, IIEP Occasional Paper No.73 Paris: UNESCO.

BOSE, M. (1979) 'One Corner of an Indian Slum that is Forever England', NEW SOCIETY January 4, pp: 7-9.

BOUDON, R. (1974) Educational Opportunity and Social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society, New York: Riley.

BOURDIEU, P. (1976) 'The School as a Conservative Force: Scholastic and Cultural Inequalities', IN R. DALE et. al.(eds.) Schooling And Capitalism: A Sociological Reader, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul and the Open University.

BOWLES, S. and GINTIS, H.(1976) Schooling In Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

BOYD, W. (1970) Emile for Today: The Emile of Jean Jacques Rousseau Selected, Translated and Interpreted by W. Boyd, London: Heinemann.

BRENNAN, N.J. (1979) The Anglo-Indians of Madras: An Ethnic Minority in Transition, Ph.D. Thesis Syracuse University , Ann Arbor, Mi. 48106 University Microfilms International.

BRENT, A. (1983) Philosophy and Educational Foundations, London: George Allen & Unwin.

BRIAULT, E.W.H. (1976) 'A Distributed Systen of Educational Administration: An International Viewpoint', INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION Vol. 22 No. 4 pp: 429-39.

BROADFOOT, P. (1985) 'Towards conformity: Educational control and the growth of corporate management in England and France', IN: J. Lauglo and M. McLean (eds.) The Control of Education: International Perspectives on the Centralization-Decentralization Debate Studies in Education, (New Series) 17 London: Heinemann Educational Books for the Institute of Education, University of London.

BROFENBRENNER, R. (1970) 'The Psychological costs of quality and equality in education', IN; A. Allen Psychological Factors in Poverty, Chicago: Markham.

BROWN, H. (ed.) (1948) The Sahibs, The Life and Ways of the British in India as Recorded by Themselves, London: William Hodge & Co.

BROWN, A. (1990) 'Branch Round Up: McCluskiegunj Branch AGM', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION June 1990.

BROWN, R. (1978) 'Work' IN: P. Abrams Work, Urbanism and Inequality: UK Society Today, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

----------(1988) Group Processes: Dynamics Within and Between Groups, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

BRUCK, M., LAMBERT, W.E. and TUCKER, G.R. (1974) 'Bilingual Schooling Through the Elementary Grades: The St. Lambert Project at Grade Seven', LANGUAGE LEARNING 1974, Vol. 24. pp: 183-204.

BUCH, M.B. and PATEL, P.A. (1979) Towards Work Centred Education, Ahmedabad: Gujarat Vidyapith.

BULMER, M. (ed.) (1978) Social Policy Research: Social Science Research and Policy Making in Britain, United Kingdom: Macmillan.

----------(1979) Research Questions and Hypotheses, Block 2 Part I Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

BURGESS, A. (1964) Language Made Plain, London: The English Universities Press.

BURGESS, A. (1991) 'Schools for the Nineties', THE TABLET Educational Supplement 5 October.

BURNELL, A.C. and TILLE, P.A. (1885) The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies (From the old English Edition of 1598), London: Hakluyt Society. Vol. I.

BURGESS, A. (1964) Language Made Plain, London: The English Universities Press.

BURGESS, R. (1991) 'Schools for the Nineties', THE TABLET Educational Supplement 5 October.

BURRELL, G. and MORGAN, G. (1980) Sociological Paradigms and Organizational Analysis, London: Heinemann.

BUTCHER, H.J. and PONT, H.B. (1970) Foundations of Behavioral Research, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

----------(eds.) (1973) Educational Research in Britain 3, London: University of London Press.

BUTLER, J. (1847) A Sketch of Assam, with some Account of the Hill Tribes, by an Officer, London. (This book is available on special loan from the University of London, Commonwealth Institute Library.)

BYRAM, M. (1986) Minority Education and Ethnic Survival, Clevedon, Avon.: Multilingual Matters.

BYRNE, E. (1978) Women and Education, London: Tavistock.

CALCUTTA REVIEW (1846) 'The Portuguese in North India', Vol. V

----------(1867) 'The Bengal Military Orphan Society', Vol.XLIV.

----------(1871) 'The Feringhees of Chittagong', Vol. V.

----------(1887) 'The Education Code for European Schools in Bengal', Vol. LXXXVI.

----------(1913) 'The Domiciled Community in India and the Simla Education Conference', No.272 April.

CALDER, J. (1979) Research Methods in Education and the Social Sciences Block 3 B Part 4 Research Design, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

CALDWELL, B.J. and SPINKS, J.M. (1988) The Self-Managing School, London: The Falmer Press.

CALLAHAN, R. (1962) Education and the Cult of Efficiency, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CAMPBELL, D.T. and STANLEY, J.C. (1963) 'Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching', IN: N.L. Gage (ed.) Handbook of Research on Teaching, Chicago: Rand McNally.

CAMPOS, J.J.A. (1919) A History of the Portuguese in Bengal, Calcutta: Butterworth & Co.

CARTWRIGHT, D. and A. ZANDER (eds.) (1970) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, Third Edition United Kingdom: Tavistock Publications Ltd.

----------(1970) 'Groups and Group Membership: Introduction', IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, Third Edition United Kingdom: Tavistock Publications Ltd.

CASAS, J.M. (1984) 'Policy, Training and Research in Counselling Psychology: The Racial/Ethnic Minority Perspective', pp: 785-831 IN: S.D.Brown and R.W. Lent (eds.) Handbook of Counselling Psychology, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

CASLEY, D.J. and LURY, D.A. (1987) Data Collection in Developing Countries, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

CENSUS OF INDIA (1911) Vol.I Part I Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

----------(1921) Vol. I Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

----------(1931) Vol. I Part II Table XI and Table XIX (IIb) Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.

CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION'S REPORT (1965) The Study of English in India, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India.

CHAILLEY, J. (1910) Administrative Problems of British India Translated by William Meyer, London: Macmillan & Co.

CHANNEL 4 (1986) The Anglo-Indians, Central Television Producer Zia Mohyeddin. Narrated by Tim Piggot-Smith.

CHATTERJEE, E.P. (1982) Adaptation In A Changing World: The Anglo-Indian Problem 1909 - 1935, Ph.D. Thesis Concordia University. Montreal, Quebec. Canada. Microfilm.

CHAUDHURI, N.C. (1966) The Continent of Circe, New York: Oxford University Press.

CHECKLAND, P. (1981) Systems Thinking, Systems Practice, Chichester, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons.

CHILD, I.L. (1943) Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict, New Haven: Yale University Press.

CHILD, J. (1984) Organization: A Guide to Problems and Practice, Second Edition. London: Harper & Row.

CHITNIS, S. (1986) 'Positive Discrimination: The Educational Advancement of the Scheduled Castes in India', IN: D. Rothermund and J. Simon Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities, London: Frances Pinter.

----------(1987) 'Education and Social Stratification: An Illustration from a Metropolitan City. (Bombay Slums)', IN: R. Ghosh and M. Zachariah Education and the Process of Change, New Delhi: Sage.

CICOUREL, J.A.V. and KITSUSE, J.E. (1971) 'The Educational Decision Makers: The Social Organization of the High School and Deviant Adolescent Careers', IN: B.R. Cosin; I.R. Dale; G.M. Esland and D.F. Swift. (eds.) School and Society, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

CLARK, K.B. (1963) 'Educational Stimulation of Racially Disadvantaged Children', IN: A.H.Passow (ed.) Education In Depressed Areas, New York: Columbia University Press.

COARD, B. (1971) How the West Indian Child is made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System, London: New Beacon.

COCHRANE, S. (1979) Fertility and Education, Baltimore, U.S.A.: John Hopkins University Press.

COHEN, E. (1970) 'Parental Factors in Educational Mobility', IN: M. Craft. Family, Class and Education, London: Longman.

COHEN, L. and HOLLIDAY, M. (1982) Statistics for Social Scientists: An Introductory Text with Computer Programs in BASIC, London: Harper and Row.

COHEN, L. and MANION, L. (1984) Research Methods In Education, 2nd. Edition London: Croom Helm.

COLE, W.O. (ed.) (1978) World Faiths in Education, London: George Allen & Unwin.

COLEMAN, J. (1957) Community Conflict, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press. London: Collier-MacMillan.

----------et. al., (1966) Equality of Educational Opportunity, Washington: U.S. Govt. Printing Press.

----------(1967) The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and its Impact on Education, Sixth Printing. New York: The Free Press.

COLLINS, K.T. (ed.) (1973) Keywords in Education, United Kingdom: Longman.

COMENIUS, J.A. (1956) The School of Infancy, Edited with an Introduction by E.M. Eller The University of North Carolina: Chapel Hill.

COMPTON, H. (1892) A Particular Account of European Military Adventurers in Hindustan, London: T. Fisher Unwin.

----------(1976) European Military Adventurers of Hindustan, Karachi: Oxford University Press.

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA, November 26 1949 with Amendments of 1951 Govt. of India Press.

----------(1974) Govt. of India Press.

CONVERSE, A. and CAMPBELL, J. (1970) 'Political Standards in Secondary Groups', IN: D. Cartwright and A. Zander (eds.) Group Dynamics: Research and Theory, Third Edition United Kingdom: Tavistock Publications.

COOMARASWAMY, A. (1976) The Dance of Shiva: Fourteen Indian Essays, New Delhi: Doaba Publishing House.

COPLAND, R. (1944) The Indian Problem, Bombay: Oxford University Press.

CORRIGAN, P. (1978) 'Deviance and Deprivation', IN: P. Abrams. (ed.) Work, Urbanism and Inequality: U.K. Society Today, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

COX, O.C. (1948) Caste, Class and Race: A Study in Social Dynamics, 7th Printing. New York: Monthly Review Press.

COX, P.R. (1976) Demography, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CRAIG, H.I. (1990) Under The Old School Topee, Putney, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA).

CRESSEY, P.F. (1935) 'The Anglo-Indians: A Disorganized Marginal Group', SOCIAL FORCES XIV December 1935 pp: 263-268.

CROOKE, W. (1925) Travels in India by Jean-Baptiste Tavernie, (Translated from the French Edition of 1676. by V. Ball) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

CROSSETTE, B. (1991) 'The Gentlefolk of India, Still as English as can be' NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL Thursday, 20 June.

CUMMINS, J. (1979) 'Linguistic Interdependence and the Educational Development of Bilingual Children', REVIEW OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH pp: 222-51.

----------(1984) 'Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy', MULTILINGUAL MATTERS Clevedon.

----------(1985) 'Bilingual Education Programmes in Wales and Canada', IN: C.J. Dodson (ed.) Bilingual Education: Evaluation, Assessment and Methodology, Cardiff: University of Wales, Press.

CUMMINS, J. and SWAIN, M. (1986) Bilingualism In Education; Aspects of Theory, Research and Practice, New York: Longman.

CUNNINGHAM, C., PERRY, G. and WALDER, D. (1986) Culture: Production, Consumption and Status, Unit 22 Culture and Art. An Arts Foundation Course. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

CURRIES, H. (199) 'Do Boys Really Need More Help: An Examination of why so many boys than girls get special help

in Berkshire's Mainstream Schools', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENCE AND YOUTH Vol. 2 pp: 143-50.

DALTON, E. (1966) Mission of Help, Church Mission Society Triple Jubilee Souvenir Kottayam, Kerala: Church Mission Press.

D'ANGLEJAN, A. (1981) 'The Education of Minorities in Canada: An Examination of Policies', IN: J. Megarry; S. Nisbet; and E. Hoyle. (eds.) Education of Minorities World Yearbook of Education (1981), London: Kogan Page.

DANESI, M. (1988) 'Mother-Tongue Training in School as a Determinant of Global Language Proficiency: A Belgian Case Study', INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION Vol. 34, No. 4 pp: 439-54.

DANIELL, H.R.H. (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems, Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education. Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

DANVERS, F.C. (1894) The Portuguese in India, Two Volumes London: W.H. Allen & Co.

----------(1966) The Portuguese in India being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire, New York: Octagon Books.

DARGUE, W. (1985) Heroes of Faiths, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

DAS GUPTA, J. (1970) Language Conflict and National Development: Group Politics and National Language Policy in India, Bombay: Oxford University Press.

DAYAL, R. and BARROW, A.E.T.(1986) An Outline of Indian History and Culture, Vol. 2 Revised Edition. New Delhi: Orient Longman.

DAVIES, B. (1968) Social Needs and Resources in Local Services, London: Longman.

----------(1989) 'The Discursive Production of the Male/Female Dualism in School Settings', OXFORD REVIEW OF EDUCATION Vol. 15 No. 3 pp: 68-97.

DE BEAUVOIR, S. (1987) The Second Sex, Translation by Jonathan Cape. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

DE BONO, E. (1986) Teaching Thinking, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

DE CARO, F.A. and JORDAN, R.A. (1984) 'The Wrong Topi: Personal Narratives, Ritual, and the Sun Helmet as a Symbol', WESTERN FOLKLORE Vol.43 Part 4 pp: 233-48.

DE CASTELL, S. and FREEMAN, H. (1978) 'Education as a Socio-Practical Field: The Theory-Practice Question Reformulated', JOURNAL OF PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION Vol. 12 pp: 13-28.

DE HOUWER, A. (1984) 'Some Aspects of the Simultaneous Acquisition of Dutch and English by a Three Year Old Child', NOTTINGHAM LINGUISTIC CIRCULAR SPECIAL ISSUE ON APPLIED LINGUISTICS December.

----------(1990) The Acquisition of Two Languages from Birth: A Case Study, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DE MONTMORENCY, G. (1939) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: An Indian Problem', UNITED EMPIRE Vol.XXX pp: LXVII-LXIX.

DE SOUZA, A.A. (1976) Anglo-Indian Education: A Study of its Origins and Growth in Bengal up to 1960, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

DE SOUZA, A. (1907) Education of Europeans and Eurasians, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

DE SOUZA, A. (1974) Indian Public Schools: A Sociological Study, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

DE VOS G. (1973) 'Japan's Outcastes: The Problem of the Burakumin', IN: B. Whitaker (ed.) The Fourth World: Victims of Group Oppression, pp: 307-327 New York: Schochen Books.

----------(1975) 'Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation', IN G. Devos and L. Romanucci-Ross. (eds.) Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change, Palo Alto, California: Mayfield Publishing House.

DE VRIES, J. (1987) 'Problem of Measurement in the Study of Linguistic Minorities', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 8, Nos. 1 & 2 pp: 23-31.

DEEM, R. (1978) Women and Schooling, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

DENZIN, N.K. (1970) The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods, London: The Butterworth Group.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (DES) (1966) A Plan for Polytechnics and other Colleges: Higher Education in the Further Education System, Cmnd. 3006 London: HMSO.

----------(1975) The Bullock Report A Language for Life, HMSO.

----------(1980) A View of the Curriculum, London: HMSO.

DEWEY, J. (1909, 1959) Moral Principles in Education, New York: Philosophical Library.

----------(1916, 1944, 1966) Democracy and Education, Toronto, Ontario: Collier-Macmillan First Free Press Paperback Edition.

----------(1938, 1969) Experience and Education, New York: Collier Books.

D'CRUZ L.W. (1887) 'The Education Code for European Schools in Bengal', CALCUTTA REVIEW Vol. LXXXVI pp: 381-391. (A photocopy of this article is available on special request from the British Library, Document Supply Centre.)

D'CRUZ, Y. (1990) 'Press Release: The Anglo-Indian Unity Meet', THE ANGLO-INDIAN GUILD KARNATAKA

DIXON, R.M.W. (1980) The Languages of Australia, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DODSON, C.J. and THOMAS, S.E. (1988) 'The Effect of Total L2 Immersion Education on Concept Development', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 9. No. 6 pp: 467-85.

DORIAN, N. (1981) Language Death, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

DOUGLAS, J.W.B. (1964) The Home and the School: A Study of Ability and Attainment in the Primary School, Second Edition London: MacGibbon & Kee.

DOUGLAS, J.W.B., ROSS, J.M. and SIMPSON, H.R. (1973) 'School Leaving and GCE Results: From "All Our Future (1968)" ', IN: W.V.D. Eyken. (ed.) Education, The Child and Society: A Documentary History - 1900-1973, London: Penguin.

DOVER, C. (1928) Cimmerii? or Eurasians and Their Future, Calcutta: The Modern Art Press.

----------(1937) Half-Caste, United Kingdom: Martin Secker and Warburg Ltd.

----------(1963) Hell in the Sunshine, London: Martin Secker & Warburg.

DREEBEN, R. (1968) On What Is Learned In School, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

DUKE, D.L. (1980) 'Teachers and shared decision making: The costs and benefits of involvement', EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION QUARTERLY 1B (1) Winter

EAPEN, K.V. (1979) A Study on the Contribution of the Church Mission Society to the Progress and Development of Education in Kerala, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education University of Kerala.

EAST INDIA CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION'S REPORT (1919) Commission appointed by the Government of India to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta. The Sadler Commission (1917-18), London: HMSO.

EAST INDIA CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS, (1919) App. XI London: HMSO.

EASTMAN, C.M. (1981) 'The American Indian's Language and Culture in U.S. Education', IN: J. Megarry; S. Nisbet. and E. Hoyle. Education of Minorities World Yearbook of Education, (1981) London: Kogan Page.

EDGE, J. (1986) 'Acquisition Disappears in Adultery: Interaction in the Translation Class', ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEACHING JOURNAL Vol. 40/2 April, Oxford University Press.

EDUCATION QUARTERLY (1978) 'The Magical Formula of Education', Government of India, Ministry of Education and Culture. October.

EDWARDES, M. (1963) Battles of the Indian Mutiny, London: Pan Books.

EDWARDES, S.M. (1923) The Bombay City Police, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

EDWARDS, T. (1881) 'Eurasians and Poor Europeans in India', THE CALCUTTA REVIEW Vol. LXII, Art. 11.

----------(1884) Derozio, the Eurasian Poet, Teacher and Journalist, Calcutta.

ELIOT, T.S. (1948), (1962) Notes Towards the Definition of Culture, London: Faber.

ELLIOTT, J. (1976) 'Democratic Evaluation as Social Criticism: Or, Putting the Judgement back into Evaluation', IN: N. Norris (ed.) SAFARI 2 THEORY IN PRACTICE CARE Occasional Publication No. 4

ELWIN, V. (1959) India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA (1974) The University of Chicago: Helen Hemingway Benton.

EVIDENCE ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, No. 14, 31 March 1830 1OL T 1284.

EWART-BIGGS, J. (1987) 'Recognising the Dual Role of Women', IN: J. Neuberger. (ed.) Women: Neglected Majority or Monstrous Regiment, London: Papermac.

FERDMAN, B.M. (1990) 'Literacy and Cultural Identity', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 60 No. 2 May pp: 181-204.

FERNANDES, B.A. (1927) Bandra: Its Religious and Secular History, Bombay: D.K. Parker Fine Art Press.

FISHMAN, J.A. (1967) 'Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia: Dislossia With and Without Bilingualism', JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES 2 pp: 29-38.

----------(1989) 'Language And Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective', MULTILINGUAL MATTERS 45.

----------(1990) 'What is Reversing Language Shift (RLS) and how can it succeed?', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 11 Nos. 1+2 pp: 5-36.

FITZROY, Y. (1926) Courts and Camps in India: Impressions of Viceregal Tours 1921-24, London: Metheun & Co.

FLINT, C. (ed.) (1987) Changing Education, Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Ltd.

FLOUD, J.E., HALSEY, A.H. and MARTIN, F.M. (1956) Social Class and Educational Opportunity, London: William Heinemann Ltd.

FLOUD, J. (1961) 'Social Class Factors in Educational Achievement' IN: A.H. Halsey (ed.) Ability and Educational Opportunity, Paris: O.E.C.D.

FOOTE-WHYTE, W. (1966) Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

FORD, J., MONGON, D. and WHELAN, M. (1982) Special Education and Social Control: Invisible Disasters, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

FORGETT, C. (1877) Our Real Danger in India, London: Cassell Petter & Galpin.

FOSTER, W. (1919) A Guide to the India Office Records: 1600-1858, London: India House.

FOWLER, G. (1982) 'May A Thousand Flowers Bloom: The Evolution of the Higher Education System and of

Institutions within it', NEW UNIVERSITY QUARTERLY 36 (2) Spring.

FOX, J. (1811) 'A Comparative View of the Plans of Education as detailed in the publications of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, and Remarks on Dr. Bell's Madras School', THE QUARTERLY REVIEW October.

FRADD, S.H. and WEISMANTAL, M.H. (Eds.) (1989) Meeting the needs of Cultural and Linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators, Boston: A College-Hill Publication.

FRANCIS, G.F. (1986) 'Speech by MLA On The Floor of the Assembly on 18-4-1986 on the Education Demand', THE DAWN OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOUTH INDIA Vol. 1 No.1

FRASER, J.B. (1851) Military Memoir of Lt/Col James Skinner, Volumes I and II London: Smith Elder & Co.

FRANKENBERG, R. (1971) Communities in Britain: Social Life in Town and Country, London: Pelican.

FRIEDAN, B. (1986) The Feminine Mystique, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

FROEBEL, F. (1893) The Education of Man, Trans. from the German by W.N. Hailman. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

----------(1900) The Pedagogics of the Kindergarten, Translated by J. Jarvis London: Edward Arnold.

FROST, J.L. (1964) 'School and the Migrant Child'. CHILDHOOD EDUCATION Association for Childhood Education International Number. Vol. 41 pp: 129-132.

FRYER, J. (1698) A New Account of East India and Persia, London: R. Chiswell.

FUCHS, E. (1968) 'How Teachers Learn to Help Children Fail' TRANSACTIONS September pp: 45-9.

FULLER, M. (1984) 'Black Girls In a London Comprehensive School', IN: M. Hammersley and P. Woods. (eds.) Life In School: The Sociology of Pupil Culture, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

GAIT, E. (1926, 1963) A History of Assam, Calcutta.

GALTON, M. and SIMON, B. (eds.) (1980) Progress and Performance in the Primary School, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

GANDHI, I. (1976) 'Proceedings in Lok Sabha, December 12, 1967', IN: J.C.Aggarwarl Educational Implications of the Twenty Point Economic Programme: A New Educational Deal for the Downtrodden, New Delhi: Arya Book Depot.

GANDHI, I. (1976) 'Speech of the Prime Minister at the Centenary AGM of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION Nov/Dec.

GANDHI, K. (1977) Issues and Choices in Higher Education: A Sociological Analysis, Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.

GARDNER, G. (1978) Social Surveys for Social Planners: A Practical Introduction to the Issues and Techniques of Social Surveys for Students and Professional Workers, Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

GARDNER, W.R. (1989) 'Principal's Speech on Prize Day - Thursday, 13 April 1989', Platinum Jubilee Brochure of The Laidlaw Memorial School, and Junior College: 1914 - 1989, pp: 5-14 Coimbatore: Rani Printers.

GENSE, J.J. (1962) A History of St. Mary's: A Hundred Years' Survey Bombay: St. Xavier's College

GEORGES, R. A. and JONES, M.O. (1980) People Studying People: The Human Element In Fieldwork, Berkeley, U.S.A.: University of California Press.

GIDDENS, A. and STANWORTH, P. (1978) 'Elites and Privilege', IN: P. Abrams Work, Urbanism and Inequality: UK Society Today, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.

GIDNEY, H. (1925) 'The Status of the Anglo-Indian Community under the Reform Scheme in India', THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. XXI pp: 657-62.

----------(1934) 'The Future of the Anglo-Indian Community', THE ASIATIC REVIEW Vol. LXXXIII pp: 27-42.

GILBERT, I.A. (1972a) 'The Organization of the Academic Profession in India: The Indian Educational Services 1864-1924', IN: S.H. Rudolph and L.I. Rudolph (Eds.) Education and Politics in India: Studies in Organization, Society and Policy, Delhi: Oxford University Press.

----------(1972b) 'The Indian Academic Profession: The Origins of a Tradition of Subordination', MINERVA 10 July pp: 384-411.

GILES, H., TAYLOR, D.M., LAMBERT, W.E. and ALBERT, G. (1976) 'Dimensions of Ethnic Identity: An Example from Northern Maine', THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY 100. pp: 11-19.

GILES, H., BOURHIS, Y. and TAYLOR, D.M. (1977) 'Dimensions of Welsh Identity', EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 7. pp: 29-39.

GINSBURG, H. (1972) The Myth of the Deprived Child: Poor Children's Intellect and Education, New Jersey, U.S.A.: Prentice Hall.

GIST, N.P. and WRIGHT, R.D. (1973) Marginality and Identity, London: E.J. Brill.

GLOBE AND MAIL (1989) December 13 and 14. Canada.

GLASS, N.R., WATT, K.E.F. and FOIN, E.C. (Jr.) (1971) 'Human Ecology and Educational Crises: One Aspect of the Social Cost of an Expanding Population', IN: S.F. Singer (ed.) Is There an Optimum Level of Population?, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

GLAZER, N. and MOYNIHAN, D.P. (1979) 'Why Ethnicity', IN: D.R. Colburn and G.E. Pozzetta America and the New Ethnicity, Port Washington, N.Y.: National University Publications Kennikat Press.

GLAZER, N. (1983) Ethnic Dilemmas: 1964-1982, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

GLUCKMAN, M. (1955) Custom and Conflict in Africa, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

GOODRICH, D. (1952) The Making of an Ethnic Group: The Eurasian Community In India, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation University of California. Berkeley, California: Microfilm.

GOODSON, I. (1988) 'Beyond the subject monolith: Subject Traditions and Sub-Cultures', IN: A. Westoby Culture and Power in Educational Organizations, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA (1986) Programme of Action: The National Policy on Education, New Delhi: Ministry of Human Resource Development, Dept. of Education.

GRAHAM, J.A. (1934) 'The Education of the Anglo-Indian Child', JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ARTS November 23 pp: 21-46.

GRANT, C.A. and SLEETER, C.E. (1986) After The School Bell Rings, United Kingdom: The Falmer Press.

GRAY, A. (1888) Voyage of Francois Pyard of Laval to the East Indies, 2 Volumes. London: Hakluyt Society.

GREAT BRITAIN, PARLIAMENT (1935-6) Parliamentary Papers (Commons) 1935-6 Government of India Act 1935, Report of the Committee appointed in connection with the

Delimitations of Constituencies and Connected Matters. Vol. I Report Cmd. 5099.

GREEN, B. (1990) 'Church Schools In a Pagan Culture', THE TABLET October 6 pp: 1270-1.

GREER. G. (1971) The Female Eunuch, London: Paladin.

GREVAL, S.D.S. and CHANDRA, S.N. (1940) 'Blood Groups of Communities in Calcutta', INDIAN JOURNAL OF MEDICAL RESEARCH Vol. 27: 4.

GREY, C. and GARRETT, H.L.O. (1929) European Adventurers of Northern India: 1785-1894, Lahore: Superintendent of Government Printing.

GRIMMITT, M. (1987) Religious Education and Human Development: The Relationship Between Studying Religions and Personal, Social and Moral Education, Essex, England: McGrimmons.

GRIMSHAW, A.D. (1959a) 'The Anglo-Indian Community: The Integration of a Marginal Group', THE JOURNAL OF ASIAN STUDIES XVIII February pp: 227-240.

----------(1959b) 'The Anglo-Indian Community', JOURNAL OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY February pp: 238-251.

GROSJEAN, F. (1982) Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

GROSS, R.D. (1990) Psychology: The Science of Mind and Behaviour, Ninth Impression. United Kingdom: Hodder and Stoughton.

GUILDFORD, J.P. and FRUCHTER, B. (1973) Fundamental Statistics in Psychology and Education, New York: McGraw-Hill.

GUION, R. M. and IMADA, A.S. (1981) 'Eyeball Measurement of Dexterity: Tests as Alternatives to Interviews', PERSONNEL PSYCHOLOGY pp: 31-36.

GUIORA, A.Z. (1972) 'Construct Validity and Transpositional Research: Toward an Empirical Study of Psychoanalytic Concepts', COMPREHENSIVE PSYCHIATRY B, pp: 139-50.

GUPTA, F. (1979) A Sociolinguistic Study of English as a Mother Tongue and a Second Language in Fort Cochin, Ph.D. Dissertation Kanpur: Indian Institute of Technology.

GUTTMAN, J. (1984) 'The Relative Importance of Ethnic Origin and Study Characteristics in the Formation of Teachers' Evaluations' RESEARCH IN EDUCATION Vol. 31 pp: 1-10.

GUUS, E. (1989) 'Ethnic Minority Language Versus Frisian in Dutch Primary School: A Comparative Perspective', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 10 No. 1 pp: 59-72.

HABERMAS, J. (1986) 'Communication versus subject-centred reason', IN: PDM:299 A. Brand. 'The Colonisation of the Life-World and the Disappearance of Politics: Arendt and Habermas', THESIS ELEVEN 13 pp: 39-53.

HALLAK, J. (1990) Investing In The Future: Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World, International Institute of Educational Planning. (IIEP) London: Pergamon Press.

HAMMERSLEY, M. (ed.) (1983) The Ethnography of Schooling, Driffield: Nafferton.

HAMMICK, E.A. (1989) St. George's Homes - A Brief History 1914-1964 The Laidlaw Memorial School and Junior College, Platinum Jubilee Brochure 1914-1989 pp: 83-97.

HANDY, C.B. (1987) Understanding Organizations, Third Edition London: Penguin Books Ltd.

----------(1988) 'Cultural Forces in Schools', IN: R. Glatter; M. Preedy; C. Preedy. and M. Masterton. (eds.) Understanding School Management, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

HARGIE, O., SAUNDERS, C. and DICKSON, D. (1981) Social Skills in Interpersonal Communication, London: Croom Helm.

HARGREAVES, D.H. (1967) Social Relations in a Secondary School, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

----------(1982) The Challenge for the Comprehensive School, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

----------(1984) 'Reactions to Labelling', IN: M. Hammersley and P. Woods. (eds.) Life In School: The Sociology of Pupil Culture, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

HARRES, A. (1989) 'Being a Good German: A Case Study Analysis of Language Retention and Loss among German Migrants in North Queensland', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 10. No. 5 pp: 383-99.

HARRIS, M. (1989) 'Teaching the Null Curriculum: The Holocaust', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 11 No. 3 Summer. pp: 68-79.

HARRISON, P. (1979) Inside the Third World: The Anatomy of Poverty, London: The Harvester Press.

HARTOG, P. (1929) Indian Statutory Commission, Interim Report: Review of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission, The Hartog Report September Cmd. 3407.

HARVEY, D. (1979) Social Justice and the City, London: Edward Arnold.

HAUG, F. (Ed.) (1987) Female Sexualization, Translated by Erica Carter. London: Verso.

HAVANUR REPORT (1975) Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider Steps necessary for the Adequate Representation of Communities in the Public Service, Government of Karnataka Press

HAVE, V.C. (1967) Systems Analysis: A Diagnostic Approach, New York: Harcourt, Brace & World Inc.

HAWKINS, J.M. The Oxford Paperback Dictionary, Second Edition Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HAY, D. (1985) 'Suspicion of the Spiritual: Teaching Religion in a World of Secular Experience', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Summer Vol. 7 No. 3 pp: 140-7.

HECLO, H. (1972) 'Review Article: Policy Analysis', BRITISH JOURNAL OF POLITICAL STUDIES 2 pp: 93-95.

HEDGES, B. (1979) 'Sampling Minority Populations' IN: M.J. Wilson (ed.) Social and Educational Research in Action: A Book of Readings, Course Reader Open University. London: Longman/The Open University Press.

HEDIN, E.L. (1934) 'The Anglo-Indian Community', THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol. 40 September pp: 165-179.

HELMS, J.E. (1990) 'Introduction: Review of Racial Identity Terminology', IN: J.E. Helms Black and White Racial Identity: Theory, Research and Practice, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc.

HERBART, J.F. (1898) The Application of Psychology to the Science of Education, Trans. and Edited by B.C. Mulliner with a Preface by D. Beale. London: Swan Sonnenschein.

HERNANDEZ-CHAVEZ, E. (1988) 'Language Policy and Language Rights in the United States: Issues in Bilingualism', IN: Skutnabb-Skutnabb-Kangas; J. Tove, J. Cummins. Minority Education: From Shame to Struggle, Clevedon, U.K.: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

HERSEY, P. and BLANCHARD, K. (1982) Management of Organizational Behaviour: Utilizing Human Resources, Fourth Edition. Englewood. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall International Inc.

HILL, M. (1988) Understanding Social Policy, III Edition Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

HILLIARD, F.H. (1970) 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools', IN: J.R. Hinnells (ed.) Comparative Religion In Education, London: Oriel Press.

HIRSCHMANN, E. (1980) 'White Mutiny': The Ibert Bill Crisis in India and the Genesis of the Indian National Congress, New Delhi: Heritage Publishers.

HIRST, P.H. (1974a) Knowledge and the Curriculum: A Collection of Philosophical Papers, International Library of the Philosophy of Education General Editor R.S.Peters. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

----------(1974b) Moral Education in a Secular Society, London: University of London Press.

---------- (1983) 'Educational Theory', IN: P.H. Hirst (Ed.) Educational Theory and its Foundation Disciplines, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

HODSON, H.V. (1969) The Great Divide, Britain-India-Pakistan, London: Hutchinson.

HOEBEL, A.E. and WEAVER, T. (1979) Anthropology and Human Experience, 5th Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

HOGG, M.A. and ABRAMS, D. (1988) Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes, London: Routledge.

HOINVILLE, G. and JOWELL, R. (1978) Survey Research Practice, London: Heinemann Educational Books.

HOLM, J.L. (1975) Teaching Religion in School: A Practical Approach, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----------(1980) Teaching Religion In School, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

HOLMAN, D. (1961) Sikander Sahib, London: Heinemann.

HOLMES, H. (1915) 'Introduction', IN: M. Montessori The Montessori Method, London: William Heinemann.

HOLMES, S. and JAMIESON, I. (1986) 'Class, Schools and the New Vocationalism', IN: R. Rogers (ed.) Education and Social Class, London: The Falmer Press.

HOLT, J. (1964) How Children Fail, London: Pitman.

HORNSBY-SMITH, M. (1978) Catholic Education: The Unobtrusive Partner, London: Sheed & Ward.

HOULTON, D. (1985) 'Broadening Children's Linguistic Horizons: Some New Materials for the Primary Classroom', MULTICULTURAL TEACHING Autumn pp: 31-5.

HOYLE, E. (1986) The Politics of School Management, London: Hodder and Stoughton.

HUGHES, E.C. and MACGILL HUGHES, H. (1952) Where Peoples Meet, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

HUGHES, M. (1985) 'Leadership in Professionally Staffed Organisations', IN: M. Hughes, P. Ribbins and H. Thomas (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

HULL, J. (1984) Studies in Religion and Education, London: The Falmer Press.

HULMES, E. (1988) 'Christian Education in a Multi-Cultural Society', IN: V.A. McClelland Christian Education in a Pluralist Society, London: Routledge.

HUMES-BARTLO, M. (1989) 'Variations in Children's Ability to Learn Second Languages', IN: K. Hyltenstam and L.K. Obler (eds.) Bilingualism Across the Lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

HURRELMANN, K., ENGEL U., HOLLER, B. and NORDLOHNE, E. (1988) 'Failure in School, Family Conflicts, and Psychosomatic Disorders in Adolescence', JOURNAL OF ADOLESCENCE September Vol. 11 Issue 3. pp: 237-49.

HUTTON, J.H. Caste in India Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

IIAMS, T.M. (1976) 'Assessing the Scholastic Achievement and Cognitive Development of Bilingual and Monolingual Children' IN: A. Simoes. Jr. (ed.) The Bilingual Child: Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes, New York: Academic Press.

INDIA ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE (1933) Third Session 17 November 1932 to 24 December 1932 Education of the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Community in India: Report of Committee, London: HMSO.

INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH (1975) Status of Women in India: A Synopsis of the Report of the National Committee, New Delhi: Allied Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION, (1929) Interim Report (The Hartog Report) of the Indian Statutory Commission--Review of Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee appointed by the Commission, September. Cmd. 3407.

INDIAN SUCCESSION ACT (1925) Section 2 (d) Cmd. 2302.

IVERSON, B.K. and WALBERG, H.J. (1982) 'Home Environment and School Learning: A Quantitative Synthesis', JOURNAL OF EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION 50 pp: 144-51.

JACKSON, B. and MARSDEN, D. (1966) Education and the Working Class, Middlesex: Penguin.

JACKSON, P.W. and MESSICK, S. (1965) 'The person, the product and the response: Conceptual problems in the assessment of creativity', JOURNAL OF PERSONALITY Vol. 33 pp: 1-19. (This article is also available in Reader 1 Open University Educational Studies.)

JACKSON, P.W. (1968) Life In The Classroom, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

JAKOBSON, R. (1941, 1968) Child Language, Aphasia and Phonological Universals, The Hague: Mouton.

JAYAWARDENA, K. (1986) Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World, London: Zed Books.

JAYAWEERA, S. (1987) 'Gender and Access to Education in Asia' INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION UNESCO Vol. 33 No. 4 pp: 455-66.

JENCKS, C., SMITH, M., ACLAND, H., BANE, M.J.., COHEN, D., GINTIS, H., HEYNS, B. and MICHELSON, S. (1972) Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, London: Allen Lane.

JHA, H. (1985) Colonial Context of Higher Education In India Patna University from 1917-1951: A Sociological Appraisal, New Delhi: Usha.

JONES, C. and STREET-PORTER, R. (1989) 'The Special Role of Teacher Education', IN: M. Cole. Education for Equality: Some Guidelines for Good Practice, London: Routledge.

JONES, E.L. (1983) 'The Courtesy Bias in South-East Asian Surveys', IN: M, Bulmer and D.P.Warwick. (eds.) Social Research in Developing Countries: Survey and Censuses in the Third World, United Kingdom: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

JONES, M. and ROWLEY, G. (1990) 'What does Research say about Parental Participation in Children's Reading Development?', EVALUATION AND RESEARCH IN EDUCATION (THE DURHAM AND NEWCASTLE RESEARCH REVIEW) Vol. 4 No. 1 pp: 21-36.

KAHN, R.L. and CANNELL, C.F. (1957) The Dynamics of Interviewing: Theory, Technique and Cases Survey, Research Centre, University of Michigan. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

KAMMEYER, K.C.W. (1972) An Introduction to Population, Intertext Books: London.

KAPLAN, A. (1964) 'Power in Perspective', IN: R.L. Khan and E. Boulding (Eds.) Power and Conflict in Organisations, London: Tavistock Publications

KARI, J. and SPOLSKI, B. (1978) 'Trends in the Study of Athapaskan Language Maintenance and Bilingualism', IN: J.A. Fishman (ed.) Advances in the Study of Societal Multilingualism, The Hague: Mouton.

KARMILOFF-SMITH, A. (1985) 'Language and Cognitive Processes From a Developmental Point of View', LANGUAGE AND COGNITIVE PROCESSES Vol. 1 pp: 61-85.

KASAJU, P. and MANANDHAI, T.B. (1985) 'Impact of Parents' Literacy on School Enrolments and Retention of Children: The Case of Nepal' IN: G. Carron; and A. Bordia (eds.) Issues in Planning and Implementing National Literacy Programmes, UNESCO Paris: IIEP.

KEENE, H.G. (1880) 'Indian Military Adventurers of the Last Century', CALCUTTA REVIEW 71 pp: 55-85.

KELLMER PRINGLE, M.L. (1971) Deprivation and Education, United Kingdom: Longman in Association with the National Bureau for Co-operation in Child Care.

KERLINGER, F.N. (1970) Foundations of Behaviourial Research, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

KHUBCHANDANI, L.M. (1983) Plural Languages, Plural Cultures: Communication, Identity, and Sociopolitical Change in Contemporary India, University of Hawaii Press: East-West Center Book.

KIDDER, L.H., WRIGHTSMAN, S.and COOK, R. (1981) Research Methods in Social Relations, U.S.A.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

KINCAID, D. (1974) British Social Life in India, 1608 - 1937, Newton Abbot: Readers Union Ltd.

KING, P. (ed.) (1983) Working with Third Years: Report of the Research Action Group in English 1983 Department of Education, Loughborough University and School of Education, Nottingham University.

KING, R. (1978) All Things Bright and Beautiful?, Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

KISH, L. (1978) 'Some Statistical Problems in Research Design', IN: J. Bynner and K.M. Stribley (Eds.) Social Research: Principles and Procedures, Open University. London: Longman Group.

KNOX, P. (1982) Urban Social Geography: An Introduction, London: Longman.

KOHLBERG, L. (1980) 'Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral Education', IN: B. Munsey (Ed.) Moral Development, Moral Education and Kohlberg: Basic Issues in Philosophy, Psychology, Religion and Education, Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press.

KOHL, H. (1967) 36 Children, New York: New American Library.

KOHLBERG, L. (1980) 'Stages of Moral Development as a Basis for Moral Education', IN: B.Munsey Moral Development, Moral Education and Kohlberg: Basic Issues in Philosophy, Psychology, Religion and Education, Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press.

KOPF, D. (1969) British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

KRAMER, N.J. and DE SMIT, J. (1977) Systems Thinking: Concepts and Notions, Translation of the Dutch H.E. Stenfert Kroese Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff Social Sciences Division.

KRONSJO, L. (1987) Algorithms: Their Complexity and Efficiency, Second Edition Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

KROWSZ, E. and MILLER, S.H. (1974) Social Research Design, London: Longman.

KUMAR, A. (1985) Cultural And Educational Rights of the Minorities under Indian Constitution, New Delhi: Deep & Deep

KUHN, T.S. (1962) The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

KUNG, H. (1989) 'Ecumenism and Truth: The Wider Dialogue' THE TABLET 28 January pp: 92-3.

----------(1991) Global Responsibility: In Search of a New World Ethic, Translation John Bowden. London: SCM Press.

LABOVITZ, S. and HAGEDORN, R. (1981) Introduction to Social Research, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.

LA MARTINIERE, (1986) Souvenir: La Martiniere, Calcutta 1836 - 1986 Souvenir Booklet released by His Excellency The President of India Shri Zail Singh on 13 September 1986.

LAIDLAW CONFERENCE (1910) 'Progress of Education in India' IN: Sixth quinquennial Review 1907-1912, London: HMSO.

LAIRD, M.A. (1972) Missionaries and Education in Bengal, (1793-1837), Oxford: Clarenden Press.

LAMBERT, R. (1978) 'Some Cognitive and Sociocultural Consequences of being Bilingual', IN: J. Alatis (ed.) GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY ROUND TABLE ON LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS Washington: Georgetown University Press.

LAMBERT, R. and FREEED, B. (1982) The Loss of Language Skills, Rowley Mass.: Newbury House.

LAMBERT, W.E. and TUCKER, G.R. (1972) Bilingual Education of Children: The St. Lambert Experiment, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House.

LAW, N.N. (1915) Promotion of Learning in India by European Settlers up to 1800 AD, London.

LAYTON-HENRY, Z. (1984) The Politics of Race in Britain, London: George Allen & Unwin.

LECLEZIO, M.K., LOUW-POTGIETER, J. and SOUCHON, M.B.S. (1986) 'The Social Identity of Mauritian Immigrants in South Africa', THE JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 126 pp: 61-69.

LEE, M.H. (1912) The Eurasian: A Social Problem, Master of Arts Dissertation. University of Chicago. University Microfilm.

LEE, V., WEBBERLEY, R. and LITT, L. (1976) Intelligence and Creativity, Block 6 The Open University Educational Studies: A Second Level Course. Personality and Learning Block 6 Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

LEONARD, P. (1975) 'Introduction: The Sociology of Community Action', IN: P. Leonard (ed.) The Sociology of Community Action, Sociological Review Monograph 21 Keele: University of Keele.

LEOPOLD, W.F. (1954) 'A Child's Learning of Two Languages', GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY MONOGRAPH SERIES ON LANGUAGES AND LINGUISTICS Vol. 7. pp: 19-30.

----------(1970) Speech Development of a Bilingual Child: A Linguist's Record, Four Volumes. New York: AMS.

LEWIS, F.C. (1978) 'A Short History of The Union of Anglo-Indian Associations, Kerala', SOUVENIR IN COMMEMORATION OF THE SILVER JUBILEE THE UNION OF ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS KERALA STATE 1953 - 1978 Cochin: Links Advertisers. pp: 51-58.

LEWIS, O. (1961) The Children of Sanchez, New York: Random House

LIDDLE, J. and JOSHI, R. (1986) Daughters of Independence: Gender, Caste and Class in India, London: Zed Books Ltd.

LITTLE, A. and WESTERGAARD, J. (1964) 'The Trend of Class Differentials in Educational Opportunity in England and Wales', BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol.15 pp: 301-320.

LLOYD, D.I. (1976) 'Theory and Practice', PROCEEDINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN Editor R.S. Peters Vol. X pp: 98-113.

LOBO, A. (1986) Christian Immigrants from India and Pakistan to Britain after 1947: Their Education and Aspirations, Unpublished Dissertation (B.Ed.Hons.) Bulmershe College of Higher Education, Reading.

----------(1988) Anglo-Indians in Britain: An Educational Perspective of an Urban Ethnic-Minority Community, Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts Degree in Urban Education, The University of London, Institute of Education.

LOVE, H.D. (1913) Vestiges of Old Madras, Vol. I London: John Murray.

LUCAS, T., HENZE, R. and DONATO, R. (1990) 'Promoting the Success of Latino Language Minority Students: An Exploratory Study of Six High Schools', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 60 No. 3 August pp: 315-40.

LUTHRA, B. (1976) 'Nehru and the Place of Women in Indian Society', IN: B.R. Nanda (ed.) Indian Women from Purdah to Modernity, New Delhi: Prakashan Publishers.

LYND, R.S. and LYND, H.M. (1929) Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture, New York: Harcourt Brace.

MacDONALD, M. (1980) 'Socio-cultural Reproduction and Women's Education', IN: R. Deem (ed.) Schooling for Women's Work, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

----------(1981) 'Schooling and the Reproduction of Class and Gender Relations' IN: D. Spender et. al., Education and the State Volume II: Politics, Patriarchy and Practice, London and Milton Keynes: The Falmer Press in Association with the Open University Press.

MACIA, J. (1990) 'Jesuit Education', ST. MARY'S SCHOOL BOMBAY MAGAZINE 1989-1990 pp: 26-31.

MACK, J. and LANSLEY, S. (1985) Poor Britain, London: George Allen & Unwin.

MacMUNN, G. (1931) The Indian Mutiny In Perspective, London: G. Bell & Sons.

MacNAMARA, J. (1966) Bilingualism and Primary Education, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

MACRAE, J. (1913) 'The Problem for Charity Among the Anglo-Indian Community', CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES Vol. I January pp: 84-94, and July pp: 351-392.

MAHALANOBIS, P.C. (1922) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta, Part I, Analysis of Male Stature', REC. IND. MUS. Vol. XXXIII.

----------(1929) 'Analysis of Race-Mixture in Bengal', JOURNAL AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL Vol. XXIII February pp: 301-33.

----------(1931) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta, Part. II. Analysis of Anglo-Indian Head length', REC. IND. MUS. XXIII.

----------(1940) 'Anthropological observations on the Anglo-Indians of Calcutta. Part III Analysis of Seven Characters', REC. IND. MUS. XXIII.

MAHER, R.J. (1962) These are the Anglo-Indians, Library of the University of Illinois Calcutta: Swallow Press.

MAJUMDER, B.P. (1973) First Fruits of English Education (1817-1857), Calcutta: Bookland P. Ltd.

MAKIELSKI, S.J. (1973) Beleaguered Minorities: Cultural Politics in America San Francisco: W.H.Freeman & Co.

MALELU, S.J. (1964) The Anglo-Indians: A Problem in Marginality, The Ohio State University, Unpublished Ph.D., Dissertation. University Microfilms, Inc., Ann Arbor, Michigan 65-5660.

MALLIK, B.K. (1939) The Individual and the Group, London: George Allen & Unwin.

MALIK, S. (1979) Social Integration of Scheduled Castes, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

MANN, P.H. (1985) Methods of Social Investigation, Second Edition Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

MANUEL, H.T. and WRIGHT, C.E. (1929) 'The Language Difficulty of Mexican Children', JOURNAL OF GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 36. pp: 458-466.

MARCH, J.G. and OLSON, J.P. (1976) Ambiguity and Choice in Organisations, Bergen Universitetslaget.

MARJORIBANKS, K. (1979) Families and their Learning Environments: An Empirical Analysis, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

MARLAND, M. (1987) 'The Education of and for a Multiracial and Multi-lingual Society: Research needs Post-Swann', EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH Vol. 29 No. 2 pp: 116-129.

MARSH, C. (1982) The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation, London: George Allen & Unwin.

MARSHMAN, J.C. (1859) The Life and Times of Carey Marshman and Ward Roberts, Two Volumes. London: Longmans, Brow, Green, Longmans and Roberts.

MARTIN, J.M. (1990) 'To Hold One's Own In The World: Issues in the Educational Culture of Urban Working Class Families in West Mexico', COMPARE Vol. 20 No. 2 pp: 115-140.

MASANI, Z. (1986) 'The New Anglo-Indians: The Raj Through Indian Eyes', THE LISTENER May 1 pp: 10-11.

MASTERS. J. (1956) Bhowani Junction, 8th Impression London: Michael Joseph.

MASCARENHAS-KEYES, S. (1979) Goans In London: Portrait of a Catholic Asian Community, London: Goan Association.

MATHEW, A. (1988) Christian Missions, Education and Nationalism: From Dominance to Compromise. 1870 - 1930, New Delhi: Anamika Prakashan.

MATHUR, S.S. (1976) A Sociological Approach to Indian Education, Agra: Vinod Pustak Mandir.

MAYHEW, A. (1926) The Education of India: A Study of British Educational Policy in India 1835-1920, and of its Bearing on National Life and Problems in India Today, London: Faber and Gwyer.

MAZUMDAR, V. (1976) 'The Social Reform Movement in India From Ranade to Nehru' IN: B.R. Nanda (ed.) Indian Women From Purdah to Modernity, New Delhi Publishing House.

McCARTHY, T. (1982) 'Rationality and Relativism' IN: J.B. Thompson and D. Held (eds.) Habermas - Critical Debates, London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

McCORMICK, R. and JAMES, M. (1983) Curriculum Evaluation in Schools, Beckenham United Kingdom: Croom Helm.

McCULLUM B.T. (1966) English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith.

McCULLY, B.T. (1966) English Education and the Origins of Indian Nationalism, Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith.

McGILL, J. (1980) 'Bilingual Education in the Northern Territory', IN: T. Le and M. McCausland (eds.) Proceedings of the Conference Child Language Development: Theory Into Practice, pp: 195-205 Launceston: Launceston Teachers Centre.

McINTYRE, D. (1977) What Responsibilities should Teachers Accept, University of Stirling, Occasional papers No.1.

McKENZIE, R.D. (1925, 1967, 1984) 'The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community', IN: R.E.Park; E.W.Burgess and R.D.McKenzie The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment, Midway Reprint Chicago: The University of Chicago.

McLAUGHLIN, B. (1978) Second Language Acquisition in Childhood New Jersey, U.S.A.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

McLEOD, R.D. (1938) Impressions of an Indian Civil Servant, London: H.F. and G. Wetherby.

McMahon, W.W. (1988) 'The Economics of Vocational and Technical Education: Do The Benefits :Outweigh the Costs?' INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF EDUCATION: SPECIAL ISSUE - VOCATIONAL EDUCATION Vol. 34 No. 2 pp: 173-194.

McNAY, I. and OZGA, J. (1985) 'Introduction: Perspectives on Policy' IN: I. McNay and J. Ozga (eds.) Policy-making in Education: The Breakdown of Consensus, Oxford: Pergamon Press in association with the Open University.

McNEILL, P. (1990) Research Methods, Second Edition London: Routledge.

McPHAIL, P., UNGOED-THOMAS, J.R. and CHAPMAN, H. (1972) Moral Education in the Secondary School, London: Longman.

McPHAIL, P., MIDDLETON, D. and INGRAM, D. (1978) Moral Education in the Middle Years, London: Longman.

MEAD, G.H. (1934) Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviourist, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MENDELS, G. and FLANDERS, J. (1973) 'Teachers' Expectations and Pupil Performance', AMERICAN EDUCATION RESEARCH JOURNAL Vol. 10 pp: 203-12.

MIES, M. (1975) 'Indian Women and Leadership', BULLETIN OF CONCERNED ASIAN SCHOLARS Vol.7 No.1. pp: 45-53.

MILLETT, K. (1985) Sexual Politics, London: Virago.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1971) Report of the Study Group on the Teaching of English, New Delhi: Govt. of India.

MIRO, C.A. and POTTER, J.E. (1980) Population Policy: Research Priorities in the Developing World Report of the International Review Group of Social Science Research on Population and Development, Frances Pinter: London.

MITCHELL, A.J. (1937) 'The Effect of Bilingualism in the Measurement of Intelligence', ELEMENTARY SCHOOL JOURNAL Vol. 38. pp: 29-37.

MITTER, P. (1977) Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MOHAN, N.S. (1989) Returns from Education to Employed Women in India: A Study of Bangalore City, New Delhi: Uppal Publishing House.

MOLE, S. (1976) 'The Community Representative' IN: P. Hain Community Politics, London: John Calder.

MOLENAAR, N.J. (1982) 'Response-Effects of "Formal" Characteristics of Questions', IN: W. Dijkstr; and J. Van Der Zouwen (eds.) Response Behaviour in the Survey-Interview, London: Academic Press.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (1971) Report of the Study Group on the Teaching of English, Govt. of India: New Delhi.

MONTAGU, A. (1974) Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race, Fifth Edition New York: Oxford University Press.

MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS (1919) Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms (1918), Chapter XI London: HMSO.

MONTESSORI, M. (1918) The Advanced Montessori Method: Scientific Pedagogy as Applied to the Education of Children from Seven to Eleven Years, Trans. from the Italian by A. Livingstone London: William Heinemann.

MOORE, G.J. (1986a) The Anglo-Indian Vision, Blackburn: Australasian Educa Press.

----------(1986b) The Lotus and the Rose, Melbourne: River Seine

MOORE, T.W. (1974) Educational Theory: An Introduction, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

MOORHOUSE, G. (1983) India Britannica, London: Paladin Books.

MORENO, H.W.B. (1913) 'The Armenians in Bengal', CALCUTTA REVIEW NEW SERIES October pp: 430-436.

----------(1923) Some Anglo-Indian Terms and Origins: Proceedings of the Indian Historical Commission, Volume V January pp: 76-82.

MORGAN, P. (1986) 'The place of Buddhism in the Religious Education Curriculum', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 9 No. 1 Autumn pp: 17-21.

MOSER, C.A. and KALTON, G. (1971) Survey Methods in Social Investigation, Second Edition. London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.

MOULY, G.J. (1978) Educational Research: The Art and Science of Investigation, Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

MOYNIHAN, D.P. (1965) The Negro Family: A Case for National Action, Washington: U.S.Dept. of Labour.

MPHAHLELE, E. (1990) 'Alternative Institutions of Education for Africans in South Africa: An Exploration of Rationale Goals and Directions', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 60 No. 1 February pp: 36-47.

MUDALIAR REPORT (1953) Report of the Secondary Commission October 1952 - June 1953, Govt. of India Ministry of Education Madras: The Jupiter Press.

MUKHERJI, S.N. (1966) History of Education in India: Modern Period, Baroda, India: Acharya Book Depot.

MULLER, H. (1979) 'Auslandische Arbeitkinder in der Bundesrepublik', KINDBEIT Vol. 1 pp: 169-84.

MURPHY, J. (1985) 'Class Inequality in Education: Two justifications, One evaluation but no hard evidence', IN: I. McNay and J. Ozga (eds.) Policy-Making in Education: The Breakdown of Consensus, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

MURRAY, E.E. (1977) Teaching Aboriginal/Islander Students English in Secondary Schools, Brisbane: Queensland Education Department.

NATHAN, G. and MOYNIHAN, D.P. (1975) Ethnicity, Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

NAIDIS, M. (1963) 'British Attitudes Toward the Anglo-Indians', THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY Part 3 pp: 407-22.

NAIK, J.P. (1965) Elementary Education in India: The Unfinished Business, London: Asia Publishing House.

----------(1975) Equality, Quality and Quantity: The Elusive Triangle in Indian Education, The Tagore Memorial Lectures delivered at the University of Poona on 23, 24, 25 August, 1975 New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

----------(1982) The Education Commission and After, New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND TRAINING NCERT (1979) Socially Useful Productive Work Curriculum: Developing and Implementing the Programme, New Delhi: NCERT.

----------(1988) National Curriculum for Elementary and Secondary Education: A Framework, Revised Edition New Delhi: NCERT.

NATIONAL POLICY ON EDUCATION (NPE) (1986) Programme of Action, New Delhi: Govt. of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Department of Education.

NEDERHOF, A.J. (1981) 'Impact of Interviewer's Sex on Volunteering by Females', PERCEPTUAL AND MOTOR SKILLS Vol. 52 pp: 25-6.

NEHRU, J. (1960) The Discovery of India, Edited by R.I. Crane. New York: Anchor Books.

NEWSON, J. and NEWSON E. (1976) Seven Years Old in the Home Environment, Child Development Research Unit. University of Nottingham London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

NEWSON, J. (1988) 'Singapore's Mandarin Campaign', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 9, No. 5 pp: 387-97.

NIAS, J. (1972) 'Pseudo-Participation and the Success of Innovation in the Introduction of the B.Ed.', SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW Vol. 20 No.2. pp: 87-92.

NISBET, R. (1966) The Sociological Tradition, London: Collins.

NIXON, J. (ed.) (1981) A Teacher's Guide to Action Research, London: Grant McIntyre.

NOBLE, T. and PYM, B. (1970) 'Collegial Authority and the Receding Locus of Power', BRITISH JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol. 21 December pp: 46-67.

NOVAK, M. (1979) 'The New Ethnicity' IN: D.R.Colburn and G.E.Pozzetta America and the New Ethnicity, Port Washington, New York: National University Publications Kennikat Press.

NUNDY, A. (1900) 'The Eurasian Problem in India', THE IMPERIAL & ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW & ORIENTAL & COLONIAL RECORD Vol. 9 Part 17-18 pp: 56-73.

NURULLAH, S. and NAIK, J.P. (1951) A History of Education In India (During the British Period.), Second Edition Bombay: Macmillan & Co.

OAKLEY, A. (1976) Housewife, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

O'BRIEN, N. (1990) 'Anglo-Indians', THE STATESMAN Delhi 1 June.

O'MALLEY, L.S.S. (1941) Modern India and the West, London: Oxford University Press.

----------(1965) The Indian Civil Service 1801-1830, London: Frank Cass & Co.

OLDFIELD, K. 'Including Jainism', (1986) BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 8 No. 3 Summer pp: 176-181.

OOKA PANG, V. (1988) 'Ethnic Prejudice: Still Alive and Hurtful', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol 58 No. 3 pp: 375-79.

OPPENHEIM, A.N. (1979) Methods and Strategies of Survey Research Part 2 Block 4. Data Collection Procedures, Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.

ORACLE RESEARCH (1980) 'Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation', Galton, M. and Simon, B. (eds.) Progress and Performance in the Primary School London: Routledge and Kegan Paul

PARK, R.E., BURGESS, E.W. and McKENZIE, R.D. (1925, 1967) The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment, Midway Reprint Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

PARK, R.E. (1928) 'Human Migration and the Marginal Man', THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol. 33 May pp: 881-893.

PATEL, S.P. (1983) Equality of Educational Opportunity in India: A Myth or Reality?, New Delhi: National Publishing House.

PATERSON, C.H. (1969) Foundations for a Theory of Instruction and Educational Psychology, New York: Harper & Row.

PATTAYANAK, D.P. (1981) Multilingualism and Mother-tongue Education, New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

PEAL, E. and LAMBERT, W.E. (1962) 'The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence', PSYCHOLOGICAL MONOGRAPHS (No. 546) Vol. 76 pp: 1-23.

PEARSE, H. (1905) The Hearseys Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family, Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

PENNY, F. (1904) The Church in Madras, London: Smith Elder & Co.

PEPITONE, M. and REICHLING, D. (1955) 'Group cohesiveness and the expression of hostility', HUMAN RELATIONS Vol. 8 pp: 327-37.

PESTALOZZI, J.H. (1894, 1938) How Gertrude Teaches Her Children: An Attempt to Help Mothers to Teach their Own Children and an Account of the Method, Translated by L.E. Holland and F.C.Turner. Edited with Introduction and Notes by E. Cooke. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.

PETERS, R.S. (1966) Ethics and Education, London: Allen and Unwin.

----------(1983) 'Philosophy of Education', IN: P.H.Hirst (Ed.) Educational Theory and its Foundation Disciplines, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

PHILIPS, C.H. (1962) The Evolution of India and Pakistan (1858-1947), London: Oxford University Press.

PHILLIPS, E.M. and PUGH, D.S. (1988) How To Get a Ph.D. Managing the Peaks and Troughs of Research Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

PHILLIPS, J.L. (1969) The Origins of Intellect: Piaget's Theory, San Francisco: W.H. Freeman & Co.

PIAGET, J. (1932, 1962) The Moral Judgment of the Child, New York: Collier Books.

----------(1972) The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic Psychology, Trans. by A. Rosin. London: Frederick Muller Ltd.

PIAGET, J. and INHELDER, B. (1969) The Psychology of the Child, Translated from the French by H. Weaver. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

PICKFORD COMMITTEE'S REPORT (1918-1919) IN: H.R.H. Daniell (1941) The Development of Anglo-Indian Education and its Problems, Unpublished Thesis University of Leeds, Master of Education, Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.

PILLINER, A. (1973) Experiment in Education Research, E341 Block 5 Bletchley: The Open University Press.

PLATT, J.T. (1981) 'The Chinese Community in Malaysia: Language Policies and Relationships', IN: J, Megarry; S. Nisbet; and E. Hoyle. (eds.) Education of Minorities, World Yearbook of Education London: Kogan Page.

PLOWDEN, B. (1967) Children and their Primary Schools, A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) London: HMSO.

PLUMMER, K. (1983) Documents of Life: An Introduction to the Problems and Literature of a Humanistic Method, London: George Allen and Unwin.

POLLARD, A.H., YUSUF, F. and POLLARD, G.N. (1974) Demographic Techniques, Australia: Pergamon Press.

POPLACK, S. (1980) 'Sometimes I'll Start a sentence in Spanish Y Termino En Espanol: Toward a Typology of Code-Switching' LINGUISTICS Vol. 18 pp: 581-618.

PRAKASH, B. (1981) Patterns of Employment among Slum Dwellers, Report on ILO Project, Bombay: Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

PRATT, J. and BURGESS, T. (1974) Polytechnics: A Report, London: Pitman.

PRATT, S. (1981) 'Subordinate strategies of Interaction in the Management of schools', EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION Vol.9 No. 2 pp: 78-91.

PRING, R. (1987) Personal and Social Education in the Curriculum: Concepts And Content, Third Impression. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

PRING, R. (1990) 'Professionals Demoted' THE TABLET 6 October pp: 1268-9.

PROUDFOOT, C.L. (1990) 'Duty - Honour - Courage: Anglo-Indians in the Armed Forces', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION May pp: 14-20.

QUINQUENNIAL REPORTS ON THE PROGRESS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA, (1897-1902; 1902-7; 1907-12; 1912-17; 1917-1922; 1922-27; 1927-32; 1932-37) These are the Fourth to the Eleventh Reports. London: HMSO.

QUIRK, R. (1972) The Use of English, London: ELBS and Longman.

RAMSAY, H. (1977) 'Cycles of Control', SOCIOLOGY Vol. 11 No. 3 September pp: 56-63.

RANKE-HEINEMANN, U. (1990) Eunuchs for Heaven: The Catholic Church and Sexuality, Translated by John Brownjohn. London: Andre Deutsch Ltd.

RAO, V.K.R.V. (1966) Education and Human Resource Development, Bombay: Allied Publishers.

RAWAT, P.L. (1965) History of Indian Education, Fourth Edition Agra, India: Ram Prasad & Sons.

RAWLINSON, H.G. (1921) 'Life in an English Factory in India in the 17th Century', INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION Volume III

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NORFOLK SCHOOLS (1977) The Agreed Syllabus, Norfolk Education Committee.

REYNOLDS, D. and REID, K. (1988) 'Beyond the subject monolith: subject traditions and sub-cultures', IN: A. Westoby (Ed.) Culture and Power in Education Organizations, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

REPORT OF THE EURASIAN AND ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION (1877) IN: Proceedings of the Government of India in the Home Revenue and Agricultural Departments (Education), Dated November 22, 1877.

REPORT OF THE EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT OF EUROPEANS IN BENGAL (1879) THE BALY REPORT Proceeding of the Government of India in the Home Revenue and Agricultural Departments (Education), Dated November 22, 1879.

REPORT (1918) Indian Constitutional Reforms, Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

REPORT OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION ON THE PRIMARY SCHOOL. (1931) THE HADOW REPORT Education For All, Chairman: Sir W.H. Hadow. London: HMSO.

REPORT BY THE SAPRU COMMITTEE (1945) Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee, Bombay: Padma Publications.

REPORT OF THE SECONDARY COMMISSION (1953) THE MUDALIAR REPORT Report of the Secondary Commission October 1952 - June 1953, Govt. of India Ministry of Education Madras: The Jupiter Press.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND) (1954) THE GURNEY-DIXON REPORT Early Leaving, Chairman: Sir Samuel Gurney-Dixon. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (ENGLAND) (1959) THE CROWTHER REPORT 15 to 18, Vol. I: Report Vol. II: Statistics. Chairman: Sir Geoffrey Crowther. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION'S CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL (1963) THE NEWSOM REPORT Half Our Future, Chairman: Mr. John Newsom. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HIGHER EDUCATION APPOINTED BY THE PRIME MINISTER - MR. HAROLD MACMILLAN. (1963) THE ROBBINS REPORT Higher Education, Chairmman: Lord Robbins Vol. I: Report. Appendices I-V Published separately in six additional volumes. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION (1964-1966) THE KOTHARI REPORT Education and National Development, Ministry of Education Govt. of India. Chairman Prof. D.S. Kothari, University Grants Commission. New Delhi.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION (1965) The Study of English in India, Ministry of Education, Govt. of India.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL (ENGLAND) (1967) THE PLOWDEN REPORT Children and their Primary Schools, Chairman: Lady Plowden. Vol.I: Report. Vol.II: Research and Surveys. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE CENTRAL ADVISORY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION (WALES) (1968) THE GITTINS REPORT Primary Education in Wales, Chairman: Charles Gittins. London: HMSO.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS (1970) The Durham Report "The Fourth R", London: National Society SPCK.

RHODES, C. (1932) 'The Anglo-Indians', IN: J. Cumming (ed.) Political India: 1832-1932, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

RIBBINS, P., BEST, R., JARVIS, C. and ODDY, D. (1981) 'Meanings and Contexts: The Problem of Interpretation in the Study of a School', IN: Ribbins, P. and Thomas, H. Research in Educational Management and Administration, Coombe Lodge: BEMAS.

RICHARDSON, R. and CHAPMAN, J. (1973) Images of Life: Problems of Religious Belief and Human Relations in Schools, The Bloxhanm Project Research Unit. Oxford: SCM.

RICHARDSON, R. (1988) 'Spiritual Direction and Political Endeavour: Some Messages for Religious Education', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 10, No. 3 Summer pp: 128-134.

RIESSMAN, F. (1965) 'The Culturally Deprived Child: A New View', IN: A.M. Rose. and C.B. Rose. (Eds.) Minority Problems: A Textbook of Readings in Intergroup Relations, New York: Harper & Row.

RISLEY, H.H. (1908) The People of India, Second Edition Calcutta.

RIST, R.C. (1970) 'Student Social Class and Teacher Expectations: The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy in Ghetto Education', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol.40 No.3. pp: 411-449.

RIVERA, C. (Ed.) (1984) Communicative Competence Approaches to Language Proficiency Assessment: Research and Application, Clevedon, United Kingdom: Multilingual Matters 9.

ROBERTSON, C.G. (1984) 'The Place of Religion in Education', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 6 No. 2 Spring pp: 55-7.

ROBINSON, T. (1987) 'TVEI - The one that got away?', IN: C. Flint (ed.) Changing Education, Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes Publishers Ltd.

ROBINSON, W. (1841) A Descriptive Account of Assam, to which is Added a Short Account of Neighbouring Tribes, London.

ROGERS, C.R. (1969) Freedom to Learn, Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.

----------(1982) The Social Psychology of Schooling, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

ROSEN, B.C. (1959) 'Race Ethnicity, and Achievement Syndrome', AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW Vol. 24, pp: 47-60.

ROSENTHAL, R. and JACOBSON, J. (1968) Pygmalion In The Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupil's Intellectual Development, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

ROUSSEAU, J. (1911) Emile, Trans. B. Foxley. London: Everyman.

ROWNTREE, B.S. (1910) Poverty: A Study of Town Life, London: Nelson.

ROY, A.K. (1984) 'Shram Niketan: Education and Living Experience', IN: A.K. Roy Education of Out-Of School Children: Case Studies of Selected Non-Formal Learning Programmes in South Asia, London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

ROY, W.T. (1974) 'Hostages to Fortune: A Socio-Political study of the Anglo-Indian Remnant in India', 28 International Congress of Orientalists Canberra, January 1971 PLURAL SOCIETIES Summer pp: 55-64.

ROYLE, T. (1989) The Last Days of the Raj, London: Michael Joseph Ltd.

RUBIN, D.L. (1986) 'Nobody Play by the Rules he know: Ethnocentric Interference in Classroom Questioning Events', IN: Y.Y.Kim (ed.) Interethnic Communication: Current Research International and Intercultural Communication, Annual Vol. X London: SAGE.

RUDOLPH, S.H. and RUDOLPH, L.I. (eds.) (1972) Education and Politics in India: Studies in Organization, Society and Policy, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

RUSK, R.R. and SCOTLAND, J. (1979) Doctrines of the Great Educators, 5th Edition. Basingstoke, United Kingdom: The Macmillan Press Ltd.

RUTTER, M. and MADGE, N. (1977) Cycles of Disadvantage, London: Heinemann.

RUTTER, M., MAUGHAM, B., MORTIMORE, P. and OUSTON, J. (1979) Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary schools and their effects on children, London: Open Books.

RYDER, J. and CAMPBELL, L. (1988) Balancing Acts in Personal, Social and Health Education London and New York: Routledge.

SAINI, S.K. (1980) Development of Education in India: Socio-Economic and Political Perspectives, New Delhi: Cosmo Publications.

SANTIAGO, I.S. (1986) 'The Education of Hispanics in the United States: Inadequacies of the American Melting-Pot Theory', IN: D. Rothermund and J. Simon Education and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities, London: Frances Pinter.

SAPRU REPORT (1945) Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee, Bombay: Padma Publications.

SARKAR, S.S. (1943) 'Analysis of Indian Blood Group data with special reference to the Oraons', TRANS. BOSE RES. INST. Vol. XV Calcutta

SARKAR, S.S., DAS, B.M. and AGARWAL, K.K. (1953) 'The Anglo-Indians of Calcutta', MAN IN INDIA Vol. 33 Part April-June pp: 93-102.

SATYA SUNDARAM, I. (1962) Language Problem of India, Machilipatnam: Sree Nandini Press.

SAUNDERS, P. (1986) Social Theory and the Urban Question, Second Edition London: Hutchinson Education Ltd.

SAXENA, S. (1975) Sociological Perspectives in Indian Education, New Delhi: Ashajanak Publications.

SCHACHTER, S. (1951) 'Deviation, Rejection and Communication', JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 46 pp: 190-207.

SCHACHTER, S., ELLERSTON, N., McBRIDE, D. and GREGORY, D. (1951) 'An Experimental Study of Cohesiveness and Productivity', HUMAN RELATIONS Vol.8 pp: 327-37.

SCHERMERHORN, R.A. (1949) These Our People, Boston: Heath.

----------(1961) 'A Tentative Theoretical Approach to the Study of Minorities in India', THE EASTERN ANTHROPOLOGIST Vol. 14 pp: 59-69.

----------(1973) 'Sex Roles Among the Anglo-Indians', THE AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY Vol. 9 No. 2 pp: 75-6.

SCHULTZ, T.W. (1966) 'Investment in Poor People', SEMINAR ON MANPOWER POLICY AND PROGRAMMES Office of Manpower Policy Evaluation Research. Washington: Department of Labour.

----------(1981) Investing In People: The Economics of Population Quality, California: University of California Press.

SCHUMANN, J.H. (1986) 'Research on the Acculturation Model for Second Language Acquisition', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 7 No. 5 pp: 379-392.

SEAL, A. (1968) The Emergence of Indian Nationalism, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SELLTIZ,C., WRIGHTSMAN, L.S. and COOK, S.W. (1976) Research Methods in Social Relations, Third Edition London: Holt-Saunders International Editions.

SHARDA, N.K. (1988) The Legal, Economic and Social Status of the Indian Child, New Delhi: National Book Organisation.

SHARMA, A. (1987) 'Religious Traditions in Modern Indian Educational Policy and Practice', IN: R. Ghosh., and M. Zachariah (eds.) Education and the Process of Change, New Delhi: Sage.

SHARMA, S.R. (1979) American Influence on Indian Education, New Delhi: Raaj Prakashan.

----------(1991) National Policy on Education: Education for an Enlightened and Humane Society, Two Volumes New Delhi: Anmol Publications.

SHARP, E. (1974) 'The Goals of Inter-Religious Dialogue', IN: J. Hick (ed.) Truth and Dialogue, London: Sheldon Press.

SHARP, W.H. (1920) Selections from Educational Records. Part I 1781-1839, Calcutta: The Superintendent of Publications.

SHARROCK, A. (1980) 'Research in Home-School Relations', IN: M. Craft., J. Raynor., and L. Cohen (eds.) Linking Home and School: A New Review, Third Edition. pp: 87-106 London: Harper & Row.

SHARWOOD-SMITH, M.A. (1989) 'Cross Bilinguistic influence in language loss', IN: K. Hylenstam., and L.K. Obler. (eds.) Bilingualism across the Lifespan: Aspects of Acquisition, Maturity and Loss, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

SHAW, M.E. (1964) 'Communication Networks', ADVANCES IN EXPERIMENTAL SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 1 pp: 111-47.

----------(1981) Group Dynamics: The Psychology of Small Group Behaviour, Second Edition New York: McGraw-Hill.

SHIPMAN, M. D. (1968) The Sociology of the School, London: Longman.

----------(1974) Inside a Curriculum Project, London: Methuen.

SHIVA RAO, B. (1968) The Framing of India's Constitution: A Study, Bombay: N.M. Tripathi.

SHIPMAN, M.D. (1974) Inside a Curriculum Project, London: Methuen.

----------(1984) Education As A Public Service, London: Harper & Row.

SHOSTECK, H. (1977) 'Respondent Militancy as a Control Variable for Interviewer Effect', JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES Vol. 33 No. 4 pp: 36-45.

SHUKLA, P.D. (1976) Towards the New Pattern of Education in India, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

----------(1987) Towards the New Pattern of Education In India: Including the Education Policy, 1986, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers.

SILVER, H. (1980) Education and the Social Condition, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

SINGH, R.P. (1979) Education In An Imperial Colony, New Delhi: National.

----------(1989) Educating the Indian Elite, New Delhi: Sterling Publishers P. Ltd.

SINHA, S.P. (1978) English In India: A Historical Study with particular reference to English Education In India, Patna, India: Janaki Prakashan.

SINHA, V.K. (ed.) (1968) Secularism in India, Bombay: Lalvani Publishing House.

SKILBECK, M. (1988) 'The School and Curriculum Decisions', IN: R. Glatter., M. Preedy., C. Riches., and M. Masterton. Understanding School Management, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

SKINNER, B.F. (1978) The Technology of Teaching, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

SLADE, D. and GIBBONS, J. (1987) 'Testing Bilingual Proficiency in Australia: Issues, Methods and Findings', EVALUATION AND RESEARCH IN EDUCATION Vol. 1. No. 2 pp: 95-106.

SMITH, C. (1973) 'Adolescence', IN: M. Smith; S. Parker., and C. Smith. Leisure and Society in Britain, Harmondsworth: Allen Lane.

SMITH, M.E. (1939) 'Some light on the Problem of Bilingualism as found from a Study of the Progress in Mastery of English among Pre-School Children of Non-American Ancestry in Hawaii', GENETIC PSYCHOLOGY MONOGRAPHS Vol. 21. pp: 121-284.

SMITH, V.A. (1919) Indian Constitutional Reform, London: Humphrey Milford.

----------(1923) The Oxford History of India, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

SMOLICZ, J.J. (1979) Culture and Education in a Plural Society, Canberra: Curriculum Development Centre.

----------(1981) 'Culture, Ethnicity and Education: Multiculturalism in a Plural Society', IN: J. Megarry., S. Nisbet and E. Hoyle. Education of Minorities, World Yearbook of Education (1981) London: Kogan Page.

SPATE, O.H.K. (1963) India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography, London: Methuen & Co.

SPEAR, P. (1970) The Nabobs, London: Oxford University Press.

SPENCER, J. (1966) 'The Anglo-Indians and their Speech: A Sociolinguistic Essay', LINGUA Vol.16 pp: 57-70.

SPENDER, D. (1982) Invisible Women: The 'Schooling' Scandal,
London: Writers & Readers.

SRINIVAS, M.N. (Ed.) (1965) India's Villages, Calcutta: West Bengal Govt. Press.

SRIVASTAVA, B.D. (1963) The Development of Modern Indian Education, Bombay: Orient Longman.

STANDING, G. (1984) 'Conceptualising Territorial Mobility', IN: R.E. Bilsborrow; A.S. Oberai, and G. Standing. Migration Surveys in Low-Income Countries: Guidelines for Survey and Questionnaire Design, An ILO-WEP Study. London: Croom Helm.

STANWORTH, M. (1983) Gender and Schooling: A Study of Sexual Divisions in the Classroom, London: Hutchinson in association with the Explorations in Feminism Collective London: Hutchinson.

STARK, H.A. (1932) The Call of the Blood, or Anglo-Indians and the Sepoy Mutiny, Rangoon: British Burma Press.

----------(1934) John Ricketts and His Times, Calcutta: Wilson and Son Printers.

----------(1936, 1987) Hostages To India, Or The Life-Story of the Anglo-Indian Race, London: British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA).

STEINBERG, S. (1981) The Ethnic Myth: Race, Ethnicity and Class in America, New York: Atheneum.

STONEQUIST, E.V. (1937) The Marginal Man: A Study in Personality and Culture Conflict, New York: Charles Scribner & Sons.

STROMQUIST, N. (1988) Empowering women through Knowledge: Policies and Practices in International Co-operation in Basic Education, UNESCO Paris: IIEP (International Working Group on Education IIEP/IWGE/88. Mimeo.)

SUBRAMANIAM, V. (ed.) (1983) Cultural Integration in India: A Socio-Historical Analysis, Columbia M.O.: South Asia Books.

SUTHERLAND, G. (1969) 'The Study of the History of Education' HISTORY Vol. LIV No. 180 February pp: 76-93.

SWEENEY, K. (1989) 'In Memory of Henry Louis Vivian Derozio: Elocution Contest St. James School, Calcutta', THE REVIEW ALL-INDIA ANGLO-INDIAN ASSOCIATION February.

SWIFT, B. (1979) Researach Methods in Education and the Social Sciences, Research Design Block 3A Part I Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

TAGORE, R. (1913) Gitanjali, London: Macmillan.

TAJFEL, H. (1981) Human Groups and Social Categories, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

TAYLOR, D.M., SIMARD, L.M. and ABOUD, F.E. (1972) 'Ethnic Identification in Canada: A Cross-Cultural Investigation', CANADIAN JOURNAL OF BEHAVIOURIAL SCIENCE Vol.4 pp: 13-20.

TAYLOR, G. and AYRES, N. (1969) Born and Bred Unequal, London: Longman.

TAYLOR, M. and VALERIE, S. (1990) 'The Learning Needs of Children', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF EARLY CHILDHOOD Vol. 22 No. 1 June. pp: 67-72.

THIRTHA, N.V. (1962) Babel: Language Dilemma in Indian Schools, Madras: M. Seshachalam & Co.

----------(1964) National Integration, Jullunder: Jullunder University Publishers.

THOMAS, H. (1983) 'Education and the Maximization of Welfare: A response to "Curricular Yogis and Cost-Benefit Commissars" ', JOURNAL OF CURRICULUM STUDIES Vol. 15 No. 1 pp: 73-82.

----------(1985) 'Provision, Process and Performance in Compulsory Education: An Economic Perspective on changing Enrolment', IN: M. Hughes., P. Ribbins., and H. Thomas. Managing Education: The System and the Institutions, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

THOMPSON, E.P. (1967) 'Time, Work, Discipline and Industrial Capitalism', PAST AND PRESENT Vol. 38 pp: 33-46.

THORP, J. (1983) Coping with Community: A View of Management in a Community Primary School, Unpublished M.Ed. Dissertation. University of Birmingham.

----------(1985) 'Accountability Versus Participation?', IN: M. Hughes, P. Ribbins and H. Thomas Managing Education: The System and the Institutions, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

THURSTON, E. (1898) 'Eurasians of Madras City and Malabar', BULLETIN OF THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT MUSEUM Vol. II

THURSTON, E. and RANGACHARI, K. (1909) Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vols. I and II. Madras: Government Press.

TINDALL, G. (1982) City of Gold: The Biography of Bombay, London: Temple Smith.

TIWARI, R. (1964) The Social and Political Significance of Anglo-Indian Schools in India, Unpublished Dissertation Master of Arts University of London, Institute of Education.

TIZARD, J., SCHOFIELD, W.N. and HEWISON, J. (1982) 'Collaboration between Teachers and Parents in Assisting Children's Reading', BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol. 52, pp: 1-15.

TONNIES, F. (1955) Community and Association. (Gemeinschaft and Gesselschaft.), Translated and Supplemented by Charles Loomis. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

TOOMEY, D. (1986b) 'How Parental Participation and Involvement in Education can Increase Educational Inequality', Paper presented at the Annual Conference of THE AUSTRALIAN ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION Melbourne.

TORRANCE, E.P. (1965) Rewarding Creative Behaviour: Experiments in Classroom Creativity, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

TORREY, J.W. (1970) 'Illiteracy in the Ghetto', HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW Vol. 40, No. 2 May pp: 253-9.

TOWNSEND, P. (1979) The Poverty Report, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

TREVETT, C. (1989) 'Patriarchal Structures and Religious Education', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 12 No. 1 Autumn pp: 6-10.

TRUEBA, H.T. (1990) 'The role of Culture in Literary Acquisition: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Qualitative Research', INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF QUALITATIVE STUDIES IN EDUCATION Vol. 3, No. 1 January-March.

TRIVEDI, P. (1984) 'To Deny Our Fullness: Asian Women in the Making of History', FEMINIST REVIEW Vol. No. 17 July pp: 37-50.

TUCKMAN, B.W. (1972) Conducting Educational Research, New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.

TUDOR, I. (1989) 'The Role of L1 Stimulus Materials in L2 Communicative Activities', BRITISH JOURNAL OF LANGUAGE TEACHING Vol. XXVII No. 1 Spring pp: 41-7.

TURNER, G.J. and PICKVANCE, R.E. (1973) 'Social Class Differences in the Expression of Uncertainty in Five Year Old Children', IN: B. Bernstein (Ed.) Class, Codes and Control Volume II Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

TURNER, G. (1983) The Social World of the Comprehensive School, London: Croom Helm.

TYLER, R.W. (1980) 'Parental Involvement in Curriculum Decision-Making: Critique and Comment', Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH ASSOCIATION Boston.

VAIKUNATHAN, Y. (1982) Educational Social Change in South India: Andhra 1880-1920, Madras: New-Era Publications.

VALENTIA, G. (1809) Voyages and Travels in Ceylon, The Red Sea, Abyssinia and Egypt in the years 1802, 1804, 1805 and 1806, Volumes I, II and III London: William Miller.

VALENTINE, E. (1969) The Phonology of Anglo-Indian English, Dissertation. Hyderabad: CIEFL.

VERMA, G.K., BAGLEY, C. and MALLICK, K. (1980) Illusion and Reality in Indian Secondary Education, Farnborough, United Kingdom: Saxon House.

VIBART, E. (1898) The Sepoy Mutiny as seen by a Subaltern, London: Smith Elder & Co.

VOLTERRA, V. and TAESCHNER, T. (1978) 'The Acquisition and Development of Language by Bilingual Children', JOURNAL OF CHILD LANGUAGE Vol. 5 pp: 311-26.

VYGOTSKY, L. (1974) Thought and Language, Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.

WADDINGTON, J. (1985) 'The School Curriculum in Contention: Content and Control', IN: M. Hughes, P. Ribbins, H.Thomas. (eds.) Managing Education: The System and the Institution, London: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

WADHWA, K.K. (1975) Minority Safeguards in India: Constitutional Provisions and their Implementation, Bangalore: Thomson Press (India) Limited.

WAGLEY, C. and HARRIS, M. (1964) Minorities in the New World, New York: Columbia University Press.

WAKEFORD, J. (1968) The Strategy of Social Enquiry: A New Programme in Methods and Measurement for the Student of Sociology, London: Macmillan.

WALDEN, R. and WALKERDINE, V. (1985) Girls and Mathematics from Primary to Secondary Schooling, London: University of London, Institute of Education.

WALFORD, G. and JONES, S. (1986) 'The Solihull Adventure: An Attempt to Reintroduce Selective Schooling', JOURNAL OF EDUCATION POLICY Vol. 1 No. 3. pp: 239-53.

WALFORD, G. (1990) Privatization and Privilege in Education, London: Routledge.

WALKERDINE, V. (1989) 'Gender and Education: Current Issues', OXFORD REVIEW OF EDUCATION Vol. 15 No. 3 pp: 267-79.

WALKERDINE, V. and LUCEY, H. (1989) Democracy in the Kitchen, London: Virago.

WALLACE, E. (1930) The Eurasian Problem Constructively Approached, Calcutta: Thacker Spink & Co.

WARWICK, D. (1988) The Modular Curriculum, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

WATSON. B.(1987) Education And Belief, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

WEBER, M. (1946) Essays in Sociology, London: Oxford University Press.

WEBSTER, D. (1990) 'School Worship', BRITISH JOURNAL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION Vol. 12. No. 3 Summer pp: 151-159.

WEISS, C.H. (1974) 'Research Organizations Interview the Poor', SOCIAL PROBLEMS Vol. 22, No.2 pp: 246-258.

WEISMANTEL, M.J. and FRADD, S.H. (1989) 'Understanding the need for change', IN: S.H. Fradd, and M.H. Weismantel (eds.) Meeting the needs of cultural and linguistically different students: A Handbook for Educators, Boston, U.S.A.: A College-Hill Publication.

WESTOBY, A. (Ed.) (1988) Culture and Power in Educational Organizations, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

WESTON, A.N. (1938) Anglo-Indian Revolutionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Bangalore: Scripture Literature Press.

WESTWOOD, J.N. (1974) Railways of India, Newton Abbot: David and Charles.

WHEATELEY, D.M. and UNWIN, A.W. (1972) The Algorithm Writer's Guide, London: Longman Group.

WHITEMAN, M., BROWN, B.R. and DEUTSCH, M. (1967) 'Some effects of Social Class and Race on Children's Language and Intellectual Abilities' IN: M. Deutsch (ed.) The Disadvantaged Child, New York: Basic Books.

WHITEWAY, R.S. (1967) The Rise of Portuguese Power in India: 1497-1550, Second Edition London: Susil Gupta.

WHYTE, W.F. (1955) Street Corner Society, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

WIDLAKE, P. (1985) How To Reach the Hard to Teach: Older Pupils with Special Needs, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

----------(1986) Reducing Educational Disadvantage, Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

WIERSMA, W. (1986) Research Methods in Education: An Introduction, Fourth Edition. Boston, U.S.A.: Allyn & Bacon Inc.

WILKERSON, D.A. (1966) 'Prevailing and Needed Emphases in Research on the Education of Disadvantaged Children and Youth', IN: F. Hawkes and G.R. Hawkes (eds.) The Disadvantaged Child: Issues and Innovations, Boston; Houghton Mifflin Co.

WILLIAMS, F., WHITEHEAD, J. and MILLER, L. (1972) 'Relations between Language Attitudes and Teacher Expectancy', AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH JOURNAL Vol. 9 pp: 263-77.

WILLIAMS, G. and ROBERTS, C. (1981) 'Language and Social Structure in Welsh Eduction', IN: J. Megarry; S. Nisbet; and E. Hoyle (eds.) Education of Minorities, World Yearbook of Education (1981) London: Kogan Page.

WILLMOT, E. (1975) 'Aboriginal Education in Australia', EDUCATION NEWS Vol. 15, No.1. pp: 6-15.

WILLIS, P. (1977) Learning to Labour, Hants: Teakfield.

WILLIAMSON, T. (Capt.) (1910) The East India Vade Mecum, or Complete Guide to Gentlemen Intended for the Civil, Military or Naval Services of the Honourable East India Company, Vol. I

WILSON, A. (1987) Mixed Race Children: A Study of Identity, London: Allen & Unwin.

WILSON, M.B. (1929) The Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian Race of India Bombay: The Examiner Press.

WINTER, R. (1982) 'Dilemma Analysis: A Contribution to Methodology for Action Research', CAMBRIDGE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION Vol. 12, No. 3. pp: 161-74.

WOLCOTT, H.F. (1973) The Man in the Principal's Office, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

WOLFE, M. (1972) 'Translator's Introduction', IN: J. Piaget The Principles of Genetic Epistemology, London and Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

WOODS, P. (1979) Sociology and the School: An Interactionist Viewpoint, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

WRIGHT, R.D. (1970) Marginal Man In Transition: A Study of the Anglo-Indian Community of India, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Missouri, Columbia, Ph.D. University Microfilms a XEROX Co.

YADAV, R.K. (1966) The Indian Language Problem: A Comparative Study, New Delhi: National Publishing House.

YAMAMOTO, K. (1965) 'Effects of Restriction of Range and Test Unreliability on Correlation between Measures of Intelligence and Creative Thinking', BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY Vol.35 pp: 300-05.

YAQIN, A. (1982) Constitutional Protection of Minority Education Institutions in India, New Delhi: Deep and Deep Publications.

YARDI, V.V. (1977) Teaching English in India Today, Aurangabad: Parimal Prakashan.

YEATS BROWN, F. (1942) Pageant of India, Philadelphia: Macrea-Smith Company.

YEE, A.H. (1989) 'Cross-cultural perspectives on Higher Education in East Asia: Psychological Effects Upon Asian Students', JOURNAL OF MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT Vol. 10, No. 3 pp: 213-232.

YOUNG, R. (1989) A Critical Theory of Education: Habermas and Our Children's Future, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

ZACHARIAS, H.C.E. (1933) Renascent India from Rammohan Roy to Mohandas Gandhi, London: George Allen & Unwin.